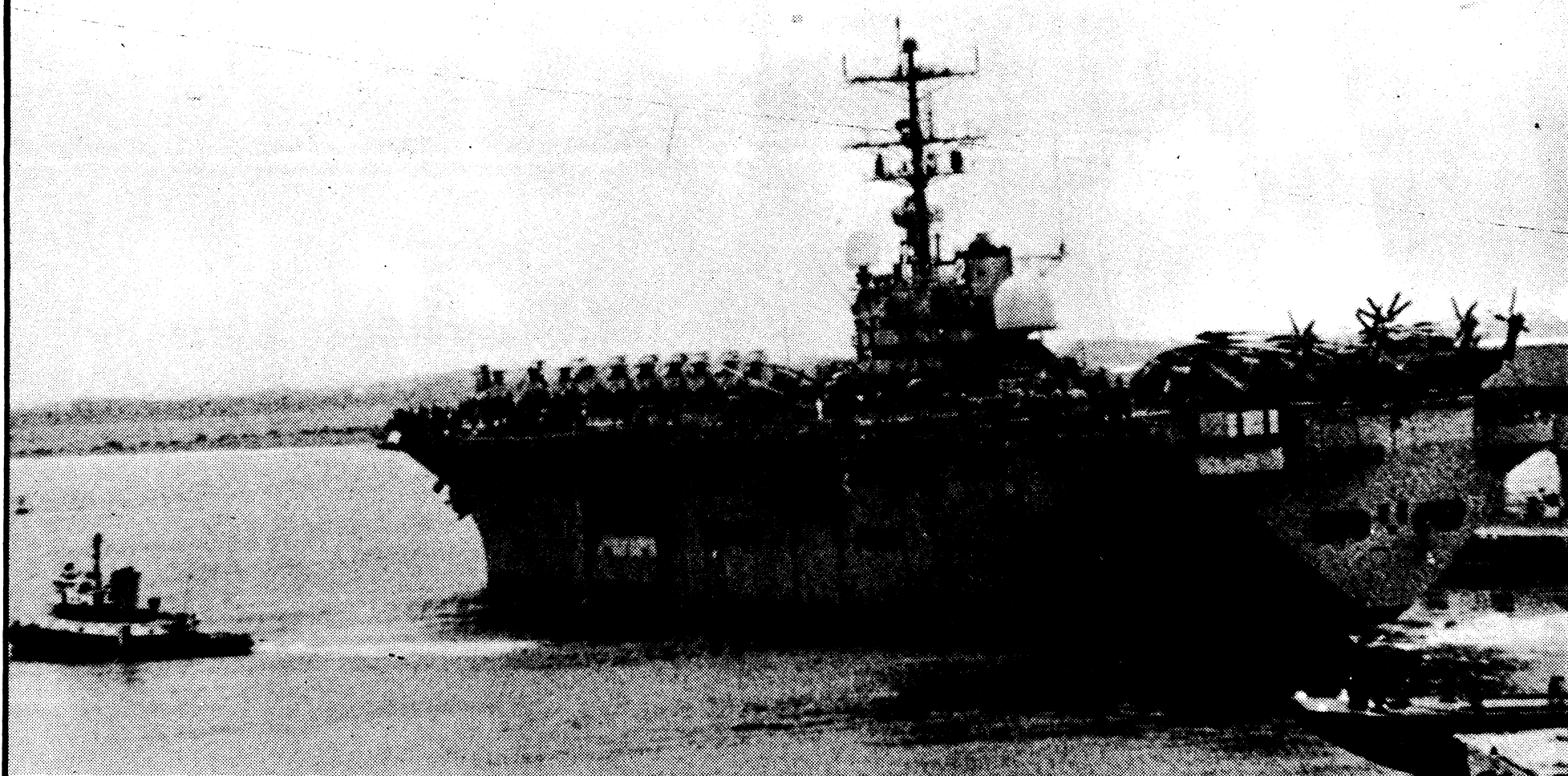


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

STOP NIXON'S MIDEAST WAR DRIVE!



U.S. carrier Iwo Jima, loaded with helicopters and marines, heads for Mediterranean to join Sixth Fleet. News and analysis of Mideast crisis, pages 4-8.

By **DICK ROBERTS**

OCT. 17—U. S. warships loaded with marines are headed for the Mideast. A massive shipment of U. S. military equipment to Israel is under way.

The need to mobilize international opposition to the U. S.-Israeli aggression in the Mideast is urgent.

Washington's assertion that the airlift of weapons was begun only in response to Moscow's military aid is pure cynicism and hypocrisy. Washington's supply of weapons to Israel has never ceased. Israeli Premier Golda Meir conceded in Tel Aviv on Oct. 13 that U. S. assistance to Israel was "on-

going."

Far from merely "responding" to Soviet aid to the Arabs, the U. S. maintains Israel as a military outpost of American imperialism in the Arab lands—and supplies arms for the Zionists' permanent aggression against the Arab peoples.

Washington's Middle East policy hinges on maintaining unchallengeable Israeli military superiority. To achieve this, it has continually supplied the Israeli war machine.

The Oct. 10 *Wall Street Journal* put it bluntly: "... it is U. S. military equipment that has helped make Israel strong. And only the

U. S. can replace lost material fast enough to do Israel any good," the leading financial newspaper stated.

Nixon's ominous decision to intervene with U. S. military might heightens the ever-present danger of a nuclear holocaust that could engulf the entire world.

The likelihood that the Israeli regime possesses its own nuclear weapons—as reported by Western military analysts—underscores the danger of a third world war.

The American ruling class is virtually unanimous in its determination to punish the Arabs for fighting to regain their land. Dem-

ocratic and Republican politicians throughout the country are getting up one after the other to call for stepped-up U. S. military support for Israel.

New York Congressman Bertram Podell spelled out the aspirations of the imperialists when he declared in the House of Representatives Oct. 15, "The Israelis will need more guns, tanks, missiles, and planes, not just to win the war, but to make sure that the Arab States will think long and hard before attacking again."

Vast quantities of "guns, tanks, missiles, and planes" are already

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JOIN MILITANT SUB BLITZ NEXT WEEKEND: Militant supporters around the country will mobilize Oct. 27 for the second national Militant subscription blitz weekend. Our national goal is to sell 15,000 new subscriptions by Nov. 18, including a total of 8,000 during the two national blitz weekends. The first blitz in September netted 5,405.

In addition, 12 Young Socialist and two Militant traveling teams have set a goal of 7,400 subscriptions, of which they have already sold 2,456.

On Oct. 27 hundreds of supporters will be canvassing campus dormitories and cafeterias, selling at political meetings, setting up tables on street corners, and approaching their friends and co-workers—all with the aim of introducing thousands of people to *The Militant*.

We encourage all readers to help in this campaign so that as many people as possible can read *The Militant's* continuing coverage of the war in the Mideast and the repression in Chile. To find out about local blitz plans, contact the Young Socialist Alliance or Socialist Workers Party in your area (see page 22).

District 1 school board suspends Luis Fuentes

NEW YORK, Oct. 17—Six illegally elected members of Manhattan's District 1 community school board voted last night to suspend without pay Luis Fuentes, the district's superintendent.

The six voted while in a glass-enclosed projector room and surrounded by scores of uniformed and plainclothes police. They had retreated to the projector room from



District 1 parents protest actions of racist school board at Oct. 16 meeting.

the public school auditorium, where more than 400 Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents and other supporters of community control of the schools were assembled for the monthly public school board meeting.

The decision was broadcast from the projector room to the angry parents about midnight over a public address system. It came after a stormy four-hour meeting at which the community had confronted the racist school board majority. Four Puerto Rican community activists were arrested during the meeting.

This morning hundreds of parents poured into the district office to show their solidarity with Fuentes. At a news conference packed with more than 300 parents, Fuentes said, "I am asking the public to understand that we are not the disrupters, we are not the incendiaries. . . .

"We are reacting to an effort to destroy the changes we've begun on behalf of a generation of illiterate minority children. Our anger will express itself. . . . And it's not about me; it's about Black mothers and fathers, Puerto Rican mothers and fathers, Chinese mothers and fathers, who want for the children the opportunities others have. We will not be crushed."

Hundreds of school children, chanting "No Fuentes, No School," then joined the massed parents in a picket line.

The Coalition for Education in District 1 has filed suit challenging last May's board elections as racially discriminatory and calling for new elections. It will now ask for a temporary restraining order revoking the firing until the case is decided. Many community-control supporters plan to attend when the case resumes in court Oct. 23.

UNITED FARM WORKERS (I): In Minneapolis, 500 people attended an Oct. 13 march and rally in support of the UFW. The target of the action was Red Owl stores, the largest food chain in the state selling scab lettuce and grapes. The previous day, 150 students at the University of Minnesota rallied to support the farm workers.

Also in Minneapolis, students at Marshall High School are boycotting their school cafeteria because it serves non-UFW lettuce and grapes.

At George Washington University in Washington, D. C., the food service director agreed to remove scab lettuce after 1,400 students signed petitions raising that demand.

UNITED FARM WORKERS (II): In Columbus, Ohio, Big Bear supermarkets sought an injunction to prohibit boycotting and picketing of its stores by farm workers and their supporters. But when the UFW organizers made it clear that the stores would be boycotted and picketed—injunction or no injunction—Big Bear managers backed down and removed all scab grapes and lettuce from the stores.

In New York City, the UFW has called for a march and rally Saturday, Nov. 3. They plan to rally at 2 p.m. in the Central Park bandshell, and then picket A&P stores in the surrounding area. For more information call (212) 799-5800.

GOVERNMENT DROPS CASE AGAINST WEATHER-PEOPLE: Rather than reveal how it obtained evidence, the government moved Oct. 15 to dismiss its case against 15 Weatherpeople in a federal court in Detroit, Mich. Federal District Judge Damon Keith had earlier ordered the government to disclose whether it had used burglaries, sabotage, electronic surveillance, agents provocateurs, or other "espionage techniques" against the defendants.

The prosecutor said such an inquiry might disclose "vital national security information."

However, Gerald Lefcourt, one of the defense attorneys, said an inquiry would show that the Nixon administration's 1970 plan for domestic spy operations was actually put into effect, contrary to Nixon's denials. The 1970 spy plan came to public attention during the Watergate hearings.

The defendants, who had been charged with plotting terrorist bombings, now plan to sue the government for damages and to force disclosure of all illegal activities against the Weatherpeople.

SAN DIEGO SOCIALIST ARRAIGNED ON PERJURY CHARGE: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for San Diego city council in the September primary elections, pleaded not guilty to charges of perjury at an Oct. 9 arraignment in superior court. The charges stem from an alleged falsification of her address on filing papers for the election.

When Kolis was arrested Aug. 29 she said, "I am innocent of all charges. The fact that I was arrested three weeks before the election clearly shows that the city administration is trying to stop my campaign."

In the September election Kolis received 157 votes, more than 1 percent of the total.

The date for pretrial motions in the case was set for Nov. 12. At that time David Aberson, her defense counsel, will move for dismissal of the case. Trial date was set for Dec. 10.

After the arraignment Kolis appeared on several radio and TV stations to speak about her case. On Oct. 13 she addressed a meeting of the San Diego National Women's Political Caucus.

—DERRICK MORRISON

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



WHAT'S AT STAKE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?: The Militant goes to the root of the problem—the creation of the Zionist settler-state on the homeland of the Palestinian people—and we take sides in defense of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. For straightforward coverage of the unfolding situation in the Mideast, read *The Militant*.

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Agnew: Fall guy for Watergate

By ALLEN MYERS

With his resignation and plea of nolo contendere—no contest—to felony charges October 10, Spiro Agnew became the latest, but certainly not the last, member of the Nixon gang to drown in the Watergate flood.

Ironically, the charge which Nixon's chief "law and order" spokesman declined to contest—in a move that is the legal equivalent of a guilty plea in criminal cases—was income-tax evasion, the same charge that ended the career of Al Capone, who was the most notorious gangster in U.S. history, until the rise of the Nixon gang.

Agnew was caught with his snout in the trough: Prosecutors in Baltimore had amassed evidence that he regularly received kickbacks totaling perhaps as much as \$500,000 from engineering firms in Maryland during his terms as Baltimore County executive, governor of Maryland, and vice-president of the United States. Confronted with the evidence and unable to suppress it, Agnew "copped a plea." In a deal with Attorney General Elliot Richardson, worked out on instructions from Nixon, Agnew was permitted to plead to the one charge and was promised that he would not have to serve time in prison.

Also included in the deal was a "Dear Ted" letter from Richard Nixon attesting to Agnew's good character. Presumably the former vice-president can use it as an employment reference.

"As Vice President," Nixon wrote, "you have addressed the great issues of our times with courage and candor. Your strong patriotism, and your

in the state." He should have said "in the country."

In normal times Agnew's acceptance of payoffs would have been overlooked. As far back as 1968, his profitable relations with Maryland capitalists was not even much of a secret. When Nixon chose Agnew as his running mate, the *New York Times* complained in an editorial that Agnew's ties to land speculators and a bank involved "clear and repeated conflicts of interest."

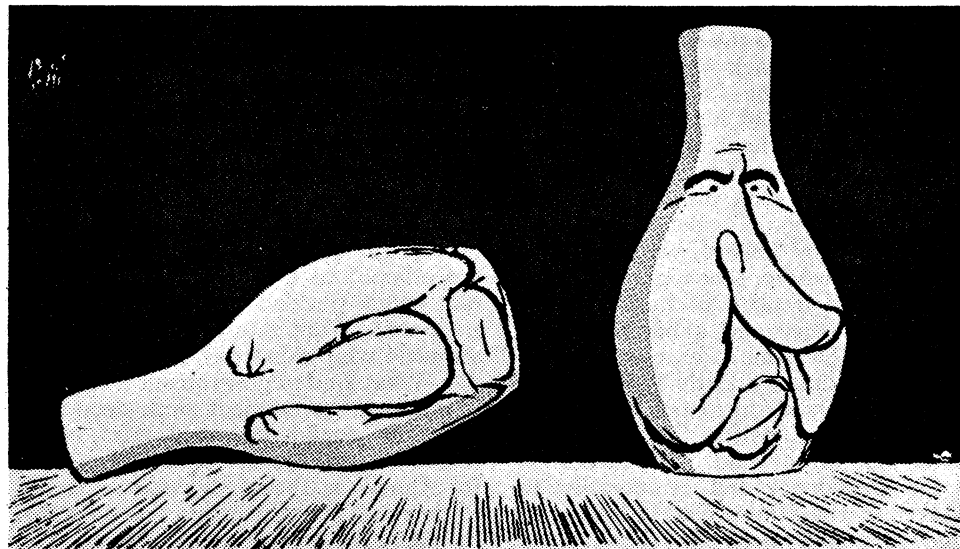
In 1968 Nixon explained his selection to the press in the following words:

"I know Ted Agnew well. We have had long and tough discussions. We have examined each other's ideas, debated issues and tested each other. He has real depth and genuine warmth. Having watched his performance as governor of Maryland for two years, I was deeply impressed by his tremendous brain power, great courage and unprejudiced legal mind. He has vigor, imagination and above all he acts. Under pressure, he is one of the best-poised and controlled. . . . He has the attributes of a statesman of the first rank."

In reality, if Agnew differed from the ordinary politicians whom the corporations hire by the hundreds, it was only in the fact that he was even less distinguished than most.

Like all the hired politicians who, by accident or design, achieve "national stature" by being sent to Washington, Agnew was allowed to audition for the role of spokesman for a broader sector of the ruling class.

Analyzing Nixon's 1968 election victory in the November 18, 1968,



Oliphant

missiveness," "subversives," "negativism," "crime in the streets," and freedom of the press.

Although he had been frozen out of the Watergate crimes, it was Watergate more than anything else that led to Agnew's downfall. Under normal circumstances, the Baltimore grand jury would never have been allowed to hear charges against the vice-president.

But in the post-Watergate atmosphere, the normal rules were inoperative. Nixon had already been forced to dump his two top staff members, an attorney general, a former attorney general, a former secretary of the treasury, and an FBI director, to name only a few of the sacrifices. Nixon was having trouble enough defending himself without organizing another cover-up.

Without Nixon's support, Agnew's attempts to save himself were doomed to be ineffectual. On September 25, he appealed to the House of Representatives to hold what would have amounted to impeachment hearings on the charges against him. If the House had agreed, Agnew would have had the advantage of a jury familiar with the norms of "political contributions" and therefore a little more sympathetic; but even among Republican members only a handful showed any interest in taking the case—a sure sign that Nixon was not twisting any arms on Agnew's behalf.

Deprived of any aid in Washington, Agnew tried to rouse his special constituency. In a speech to the National Federation of Republican Women in Los Angeles September 29, he leveled an attack on Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, accusing him of leaking information to the press and of attempting to frame Agnew to compensate for his own failure last year to investigate the Watergate affair properly:

"Now people will say to me: 'Why should a Republican Department of Justice and Republican prosecutors attempt to get you?' Well I don't know all the answers, but I will say this, that individuals in the upper professional echelons of the Department of Justice have been severely stung by their ineptness in the prosecution of the Watergate case. They have been severely stung that the President and the Attorney General have found it necessary to appoint a special prosecutor and they are trying to recoup their reputation at my expense. I'm a big trophy."

"If I hear him right," James Reston wrote in the October 7 *New York Times*, "he [Agnew] is saying that he is being made the victim of a political financial system that is com-

mon to both parties in most states, that his predecessors and successors in Maryland and elsewhere have solicited funds from contractors and consultants who were given government building contracts, that their contributions were used for political, and not for personal purposes, and that after Watergate, this 'common practice' was under attack and that he was being made the fall guy for Watergate and all the other dirty tricks, which he was not involved in."

Except for the facts that Agnew did use the payoffs for personal enrichment and that this is an equally "common practice," Reston seems to have heard Agnew correctly. The argument went over well with the National Federation of Republican Women, who cheered and waved banners reading "Agnew for President," especially when Agnew proclaimed: "I will not resign if indicted! I will not resign if indicted!"

But the September 29 speech was received with considerably less enthusiasm by the Nixon gang, since the attack on Petersen clearly implied rather strong criticism of Richardson and Nixon as well. Neither could Nixon have looked forward to another bruising battle with the press, even if the only administration figure directly involved were Agnew.

Asked "whether there is any substance to Mr. Agnew's charge that this is a frivolous investigation, that it's a frame-up and it is, in fact, a smear," Nixon responded: "As far as the charges are concerned, they are serious and not frivolous."

That, for all practical purposes, was the end of Agnew.

Throwing Agnew overboard has removed what had become a source of daily embarrassment, but it has not solved any of Nixon's problems even on the superficial level of "image." It will not stop inflation or the deepening radicalization against which Agnew railed. It will not "restore confidence" in the Nixon gang on the part of a disillusioned public. And it will return Watergate to the center ring in the scandal circus.

There are questions about Nixon's income taxes too, including undenied reports that he paid a total of only \$1,670 in 1970 and 1971—the average tax on earnings less than one-twentieth of Nixon's known income. The Senate Watergate committee is reported to be looking into additional secret income: a gift of \$100,000 said to have been made by billionaire Howard Hughes through Nixon's friend C. G. Rebozo.

On October 12, the same day that Nixon was attempting to put a "new face" on his administration by announcing Agnew's successor, a federal appeals court in Washington stole

Continued on page 22



'Executive privilege arguments aside, Mr. President, you really should have consulted me before deciding to swallow the tapes.'

profound dedication to the welfare of the Nation, have been an inspiration to all who have served with you as well as to millions of others throughout the country."

In reality, Agnew was a paytriot of the sort typical of all levels of capitalist politics in the United States. The cash payoffs he received from Maryland corporations were not "extortion," as some have charged. They were simply his share of the income of the circle of contractors for whom he was the political representative. The kickbacks were the wages of a faithful employee.

Probably the only thing more common in U.S. politics than such payoffs is the hypocritical pretense that they are exceptional. Agnew said as much himself in his court appearance, observing that "my acceptance of contributions was part of a long-established pattern of political fund-raising

Intercontinental Press, Joseph Hansen wrote:

"Nixon was attractive above all to the petty-bourgeois layers, who cling to the past, who are worried by the challenge of the [Black] ghettos to their prejudices and their property holdings, and who would like to see a re-run of the Eisenhower decade in color television."

It was basically the same sectors who formed the most enthusiastic audience for Agnew. Possessed of a "statesmanlike" physical appearance, well-tailored clothes, and a speech writer gifted at coining alliterative and largely meaningless phrases, Agnew became the spokesman for Nixon's attempts to galvanize the "silent majority" into action against the antiwar movement, the rise of nationalist sentiment among oppressed minorities, and the entire radicalization. Wherever the "old values" were threatened, Agnew led the crusade against "per-

Detente aimed at proimperialist 'solution'

Washington, Moscow, and the Mideast

By TONY THOMAS

Leslie Gelb, writing in the Oct. 9 *New York Times* on the causes of the Arab-Israeli war, reported that a high U.S. official had pointed out "that the Arabs' strategy was based on the conviction that Israel would not give up an inch of the large territory occupied in the six-day war of 1967 except under severe pressure."

This official said Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat knew that "losses on the battlefield would be severe, but attack represented his only hope of bringing about movement on the negotiating front."

The 1967 war left Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, Syria's Golan Heights, the Jordanian-held West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Egyptian-administered Gaza area in Israeli hands. Since that time, the rulers of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have been under massive pressure from the Arab masses to regain those lost territories.

Instead of mobilizing this sentiment against Israel in a revolutionary struggle, the Arab rulers sought to regain the occupied territories through diplomacy and by making concessions. They feared that a mobilization of the Arab peoples to win victories against Israel and its imperialist backers could lead to a social revolution against the rulers of the Arab world as well.

Following this course, the Arab heads of state agreed to support the 1967 UN Security Council resolution on the Mideast. This resolution, formally backed by Washington and Moscow, provides for the return of the Arab territories occupied in the six-day war in exchange for Arab recognition of the sovereignty of Israel.

Some Arab leaders, such as Egypt's Nasser and Sadat, went so far as to voice support for a plan that would "guarantee" Israeli borders by placing U.S., British, French, and other troops on Israel's borders to protect its "sovereignty."

These concessions offered to Israel represented a retreat for the Arab struggle. Previously, the Arab states had refused to recognize Israel because of mass support to the right of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland. However, acceptance of the UN resolution showed that the Arab rulers were willing to sell out the Pales-

tinian struggle in exchange for a U.S.-Soviet endorsed deal with Israel.

Early in 1971, Egyptian leaders warned Palestinian resistance groups that opposition to the deal "won't be allowed." Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and the other supposed "progressive" and pro-Palestinian Arab states refused to lift a finger while Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel carried out military campaigns against the Palestinians. Tens of thousands of Palestinians were killed, and the resistance organizations were greatly weakened.

All this was seen as a concession to Washington and Tel Aviv and a move toward a settlement.

In 1972 and early 1973 massive demonstrations involving Egyptian students and workers took place in Cairo and Helwan. These actions demanded nationalization of the holdings of U.S. imperialism, arming the Egyptian masses to fight Israel, ending the policies of negotiating through the U.S. and the UN, and seizing the wealth of war speculators and Egyptian capitalists to finance the struggle against Zionist aggression.

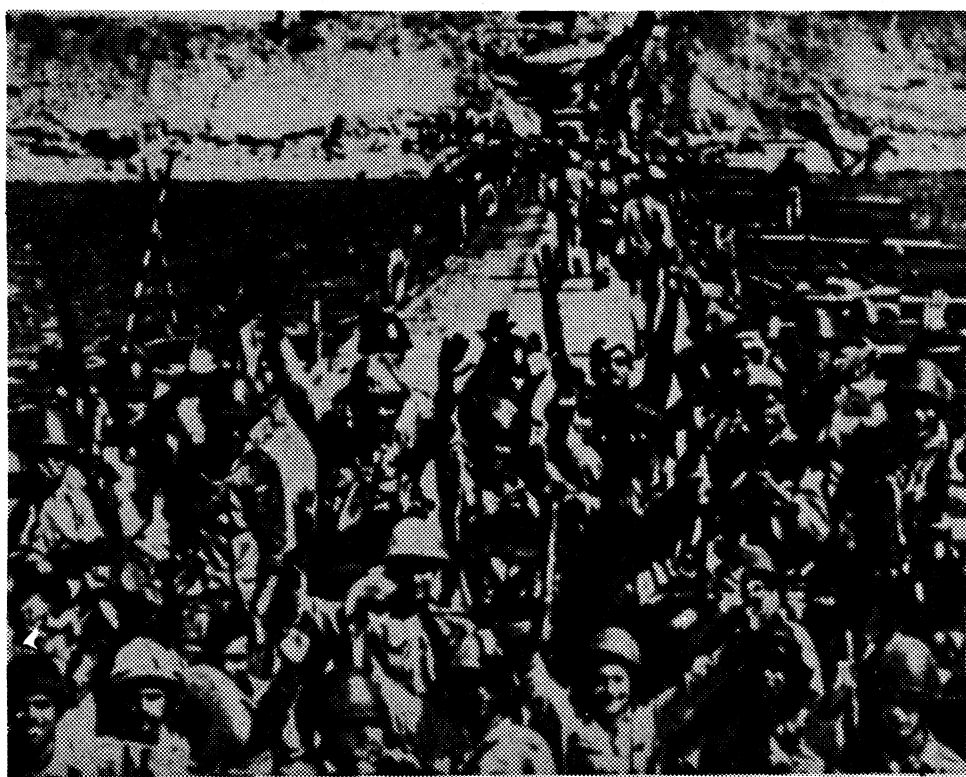
The Sadat regime responded by attacking these demonstrators with the army and police. Sadat announced he would pursue his plan to obtain a settlement under the auspices of Washington and Moscow.

The U.S. and Israel

Many of the moves of the Arab rulers were based on the illusion that the U.S. would force Israel to make concessions.

The idea that Arab concessions would result in the U.S. making Israel back down has been disproven in the six years since the 1967 war. Israel, as a colonialist enterprise, depends on continued expansion against the Arab peoples. A return of major portions of the territories occupied in 1967—even in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel—would put into question Zionist control over the lands occupied in 1947, 1948, and 1949—that is, Israel itself.

U.S. imperialism has stood behind Israel since the Zionist state was established. The "survival" of Israel has been dependent on billions of dollars worth of U.S. arms, U.S. economic assistance and loans, and other support.



Egyptian troops cross the Suez Canal. Anti-imperialist sentiment of the Arab masses has forced Cairo and Damascus into current war of resistance to Israeli aggression.

Israel serves the interests of the U.S. ruling class, especially the oil magnates with holdings in the Mideast, by keeping the Arab revolution weak and imperialism strong. A return of the Arab territories would be a setback to the imperialists as well as to the Zionists.

Washington may press Israel to make minor concessions for the sake of a settlement, but the Zionists have nothing to fear. The U.S. will never abandon Israel, for fear of an anti-imperialist victory. Thus Washington backed Israeli aggression in 1967 and the numerous bombings, shellings, commando raids, and military invasions of Arab territories launched since that time.

While this relationship sometimes allows a division of labor in which Tel Aviv appears more "hawkish" and Washington more "dovish," it is the interests of imperialism that are the heart of Israeli aggression and war in the Mideast.

The case of Jordan

The illusions of the Arab rulers that a pro-U.S. "tilt" could win them concessions should have been dispelled by the case history of Jordan, the most blatantly proimperialist country bordering Israel. Jordan served as the instrument for the "liquidation" of the Palestinian resistance in 1970 and 1971. Despite U.S. backing, *Jordan is the Arab country that has the most significant portion of its pre-1967 population and territory occupied by Israel.*

The Arab states also relied on a diplomatic and military alliance with Moscow as a means of pressuring the U.S. and Israel to return the occupied territories. But this alliance was also a pressure on the Arabs to keep their struggles within bounds acceptable to Washington—Moscow's partner in its plans for "peaceful coexistence."

As the détente was inaugurated with Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union in 1972, it became increasingly clear that Moscow was cutting down its support to the Arab states. In 1972 Soviet military experts told Syrian journalists that the Soviet Union opposed

the Arab policy of "no war—no peace" until the return of the occupied territories. These experts made clear that Moscow demanded an immediate settlement—that is, on U.S.-Israeli terms.

One of the fruits of the détente was Moscow's refusal to give Egypt weapons that could be used effectively to carry the war to Israel and put more pressure on the Zionists to withdraw. In July 1972 the Sadat regime ordered the entire Soviet military assistance group, including 20,000 Soviet advisers concentrated in anti-aircraft, missile, and tank units, to leave Egypt.

This step greatly weakened Egypt's capacity to defend itself from Israeli aggression. Egyptian attempts to get arms and military assistance from Western European countries in the fall of 1972 failed, and the Egyptians re-established close relations with Moscow.

Observers in the capitalist press have reported that Sadat broke with Moscow on the advice of Saudi Arabian officials who predicted that this step would change U.S. policy, by showing that the Egyptians were willing to line up with the U.S. against the Soviet Union. However, as usual, this Arab concession led to no change in U.S. or Israeli policy.

The détente became more and more clearly an attempt to impose solutions favorable to U.S. imperialism on the peoples of the world, as was clear in Vietnam. In the Mideast, détente encouraged the Israelis to launch dozens of attacks on the Arab peoples and not to make any concessions in the direction of returning Arab lands.

The *Washington Post* reports that just before the current war, Sadat "was convinced that both the United States and the Soviet Union preferred a continuation of Israeli occupation of Arab land to new hostilities that would threaten détente."

In this atmosphere, the Zionists launched a campaign not only to retain Arab territories but to settle and integrate them into Israel.

Eric Rouleau, writing in the Paris daily *Le Monde* Oct. 9, reports that



Sadat and former U.S. Secretary of State Rogers

Massive U.S. war aid to Israel

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan's policy, "referred to by his opponents as 'rampant annexationism,' was accelerating." The Golan Heights taken from Syria in 1967, had been "practically integrated" into Israel. Urbanization was taking place at Sharm el-Sheikh at the southern tip of Sinai and in the northern part also.

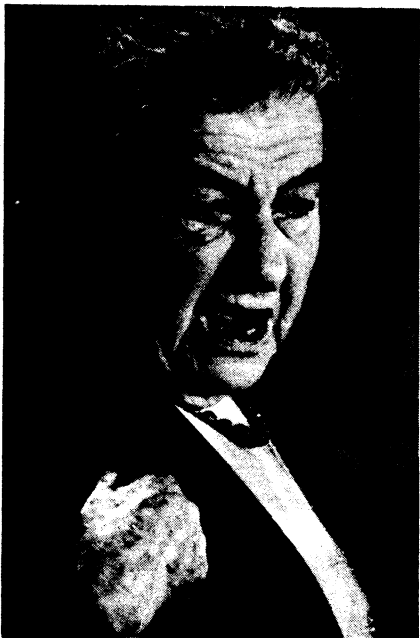
Rouleau reports that the platform of Israel's ruling Labor Party in coming elections called for "multiplying Jewish agricultural and industrial implantations throughout the occupied territories. . . ."

Arab revolt

In the current war, the Arab states are revolting against the oppressive conditions imposed upon them by the U.S.-Soviet détente. The *Christian Science Monitor* reports that Ishan Khuddus, one of Sadat's top advisers, had written just before the war that "we need to raise the level of pressure through action to end the deadlock." This same report says that Cairo "started up the war again to give the peace negotiations a chance."

The détente has prevented the Arab states from gaining the limited goals of the 1967 UN resolutions—despite their demonstrated willingness to suppress the Arab revolution in exchange for these goals. Now they hope to compel U.S. imperialism and the Soviet bureaucrats to force the Israelis to grant concessions through war.

This is a demonstration that even from the point of view of the ruling classes of the Arab world, the détente and other "peaceful solutions" are only declarations of war against oppressed nations. Rather than a force for peace, the détente and "peaceful coexistence," will be used to rationalize military aggression against peoples who resist aggression and oppression, as the Arab states currently are doing.



'There was no such thing as Palestinians, they never existed,' said Golda Meir in 1969.

All those with a real interest in peace should support the Arab states in their struggle against Israeli aggression.

However, to end the Zionist occupation in the Mideast and win national liberation for the Arab peoples, the Arab countries must break from the restricting policies of the current Arab rulers. The Arab capitalists must be replaced through the process of social revolution that will put power in the hands of the Arab workers and poor farmers. This would unleash the massive anti-imperialist sentiment of the Arab peoples, who would institute the type of measures demanded by the Egyptian workers and students.

Continued from page 1

en route to Israel. An Associated Press dispatch from the Azores, site of the giant U.S. Air Force base in the Mid-Atlantic, reported an airlift of cargo and warplanes at 15-minute intervals. The planes included Galaxies, Boeing 707s, C-130 and C-141 cargo planes, and F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers.

The Pentagon has ordered the attack carrier *John F. Kennedy*, which was scheduled to return to the U.S., to remain in the eastern Atlantic. There are already two attack carriers with the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

"The helicopter carrier *Iwo Jima* was loading a landing team of 2,000 marines at Morehead City, N.C., preparing to sail for the Mediterranean. . . . Another marine landing team is already in the Mediterranean, aboard the helicopter carrier, *Guadalcanal*," the Oct. 17 *New York Times* reported.

But the American people are far less united than the capitalist politicians in support of this new war drive by the imperialists. A Gallup poll published Oct. 16 found that less than half of the American people supported Israel, in spite of the anti-Arab propaganda barrage. The majority had either "no opinion," (25 percent), favored neither side (22 percent), or favored the Arab states (6 percent).

"The dominant mood of the public is clearly that the United States should not get involved in the struggle in terms of sending American forces," Gallup declared.

Congress reacts

Among the shrillest voices in the U.S. Congress in favor of sending increased U.S. arms into the war are former Vietnam "doves." Typical was Democratic Congressman Herman Badillo. Badillo declared on Oct. 9 that "it becomes clearer by the hour that the Holy Day attack on Israel by the armed forces of Egypt and Syria was totally without provocation. . . ."

"I have today joined . . . in sponsoring a resolution calling upon the administration to honor immediately existing commitments to supply aircraft to Israel."

The fact is there was no "attack on Israel" as Badillo and others on Capitol Hill claim. The territory in dispute was violently seized from Arab governments in 1967, by Israel's unprovoked six-day blitzkrieg. This is not to speak of the whole history of Israel's bloody seizure of Palestinian land to establish the Zionist state to begin with.

Israeli setback

Washington initially held back in hopes that the Israeli regime would repeat its crippling attack on the Arab armies of 1967. This expectation was widely shared in the capitalist world.

From the imperialists' standpoint, a repeat of the 1967 Arab defeat would make the oil-rich Arab states more pliant. It would demoralize the Arab worker and peasant masses, give added strength to the Israeli occupations of the Sinai Peninsula, Jordan and Syria, and any new territory Israel seized from the Arabs, and it would be one more blow to the Palestinian liberation movement.

But that isn't what happened.

By the tenth day of the war Israeli forces were blocked on the northern front 20 to 25 miles from Damascus despite one of the most ferocious tank battles in modern warfare. On the southern front Egyptian forces continued to hold a long stretch of fortifications on the East bank of the Suez Canal.

The Zionists and their backers in

Washington now face the possibility of Egypt or Syria regaining some of the land occupied in the 1967 war.

This would be a blow to imperialism. It would demonstrate to the masses of the colonial and semicolonial lands that it pays to fight rather than rely on diplomatic maneuvering with Washington and Moscow. It would encourage Arab militants to go much further than the limits imposed on the war by Egyptian President Sadat and the other misleaders of the bourgeois Arab regimes.

Even a partial Arab victory would encourage the Arab masses to demand the full liberation of Palestine and the overthrow of the Zionist state.

Christian Science Monitor reporter



Israeli planes bomb near the Suez. U.S. massive resupply of arms to Israel heightens danger of 'another Vietnam' or world war.

David Winder noted Oct. 13, "There are other nagging worries [to the imperialists—D.R.]."

"The war is not only radicalizing the entire Arab region but rallying support for the Arabs in the wider Muslim world as well. This could pose foreign-policy problems for the United States in key friendly countries like Iran and Pakistan."

"There could be no question that the military balance was in danger of a destabilizing shift," the *Times* said in an Oct. 16 editorial. This is what brought the vast armada of U.S. tanks, missiles, and bombers into the rapidly expanding war.

Arab gains

Whatever now happens, the Arabs have won a significant political victory. The imperialists' shock and surprise—a reflection of their racist denigration of the Arabs and their typically imperialist underestimation of the capacity of the oppressed masses to fight back—is itself eloquent testimony to the gains that have been made.

It is revealing to compare the first assessments of the war with those of a few days later. Leslie Gelb (formerly a Pentagon "expert" on the war in Southeast Asia and contributor to the Pentagon papers) wrote on Oct. 9 that Washington's "Arabists" think that Arabs "do not calculate their behavior by Western standards of success; winning is less important than recovering a sense of dignity and honor."

By Oct. 14, *New York Times* military writer Drew Middleton was declaring, "The war has produced a succession of military surprises. The first and, in the long run, the most important, in the military view, was the demonstration by the Syrians and [!] the Arabs that they are capable of operating complex modern weapons in combat."

The reaction of a young Arab in Brooklyn, N.Y. the first night of the

war—"I hope Egypt did attack first"—reflects a feeling that has swept Arab communities throughout the world and is manifested in the ranks of the armed forces in the Middle East.

Unfortunately these troops are fighting under a grave misleadership. The capitalist regimes in Cairo and Damascus are seeking a diplomatic edge through military maneuvers. Their objective is to gain concessions from Israel to appease the Arab masses.

They oppose mobilizing the masses even for these limited ends, which are being sought mainly on the battlefield. These bourgeois politicians fear the independent thrust of mass movements and look to behind-the-scenes

deals with Washington and Moscow for a solution.

The only realistic long-term solution to the Middle East crisis is the overthrow of the Zionist state of Israel and the return of Palestine to the Palestinians, thus eliminating the cause of the aggression. But this course is rejected by Cairo and Damascus.

Since the Six Days' War in 1967, it is evident that more and more of the world's masses have come to understand the reactionary role played by Israel in the Middle East, and to oppose U.S. military, financial, and diplomatic support to Israel. It is this mass pressure that has turned virtually the entire Arab, African, and "neutralist" bloc in the United Nations against U.S. policy in the Mideast.

There has been a shift in thinking among significant sectors of the U.S. population as well. Millions of Black people, for example, identify with the Arab peoples as victims of oppression at the hands of the same forces that oppress them—the U.S. government.

Many young people throughout the U.S., including—to the consternation of the U.S. rulers—many young Jews, are opposed to the Israeli state.

As the radicalization process of recent years has deepened, more and more people have learned to see through the lies spewed forth by the warmakers in Washington. Millions of people, having just gone through the experience of the U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, have no desire whatever to get dragged into yet another shooting war.

In this political atmosphere, opponents of U.S. intervention in the Mideast have a crucial role to play. It is our job to expose the lies and phony justifications being churned out by the rulers of this country, and to mobilize opposition to the war moves now under way by Washington.

A struggle against colonial domination

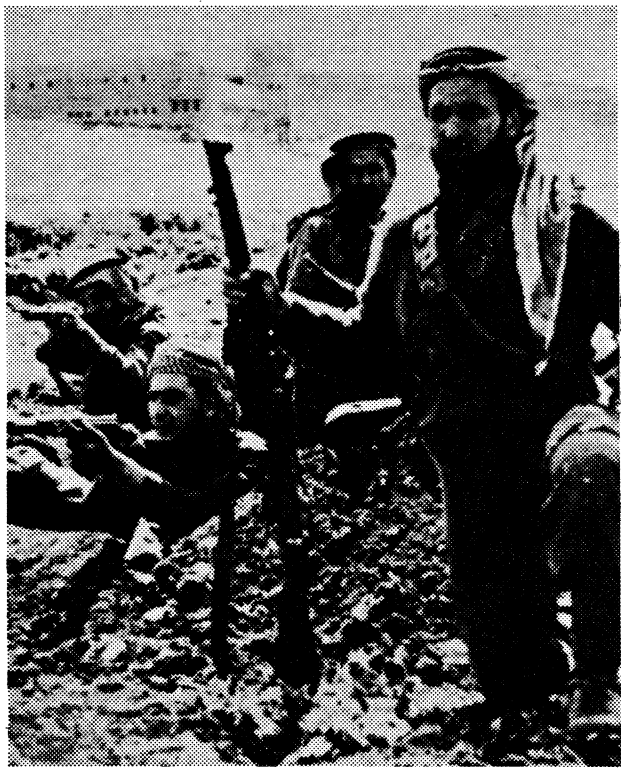
Why the Arab peoples fight Israel

By DAVE FRANKEL

Supporters of Israel claim it is committed to peace and democracy. They portray the Arab peoples struggling against the Zionist state as anti-Jewish fanatics motivated by hatred and racism.

Just over a year ago the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith declared, "Arab extremists do not seek merely to eradicate Israel; they want to destroy world Jewry which stands behind Israel. It will be tragic if Jews—and the rest of the world—are led to believe that Arab extremists are a tiny minority in the Arab world and that they do not reflect the real feeling of the Arab masses."

But an examination of the actual history of the



Palestinians fought for right of self-determination in 1948.

Middle East shows that the opposition of the Arab masses to Zionism has nothing to do with irrational hatred. It grew out of the struggle of the Arab peoples against colonial domination and for control of their own land.

The aim of the Zionists was to set up a Jewish state in Palestine. In pursuit of this aim they coined a slogan, "A land without people for a people without land."

The Balfour declaration

But the land of Palestine did have a people living there. In 1917, when the British Lord Balfour announced, "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people," only 11 percent of the population of Palestine was Jewish.

Having promised to one people the land of another, Balfour explained in a memorandum to the British government, "In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country."

The British saw the Zionist community as a bulwark against Arab nationalist aspirations. The Zionist settlers were bound to support British rule, since the establishment and maintenance of the Zionist state could only be achieved with the backing of imperialism.

Sir Ronald Storrs, the first civil governor of Jerusalem under the British, wrote in his memoirs: "Enough [Jews] could return, if not to form a Jewish state . . . at least to prove that the enterprise was one which blessed him that gave as well as him that took, by forming for England 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster' in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism."

As late as the nineteenth Zionist congress in 1935, David Ben-Gurion, later the prime minister of Israel, declared, "Whoever betrays Great Britain betrays Zionism." Today Israel plays the same role in relation to the U.S.

Throughout the 1930s, Jews fleeing the terror of Nazism in Europe were forced to come to Palestine because of the refusal of the U.S. and Britain

to allow them entry. This continued after World War II as well.

The hundreds of thousands of new immigrants were organized by the Zionist movement to confront the Palestinians as enemies. Boycotts of Arab labor and agricultural products were organized to build up a separate Jewish economy. Arab workers were barred from the Jewish trade-union federation, and when the Palestinian people rose up against British colonial rule in 1936-39, the Zionists sided with the British.

Partition of Palestine

In November 1947 the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two states. This was a violation of the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own future. At that time there were 1,280,000 Arabs in Palestine out of a total population of 1,874,000.

The Palestinians demanded a single, independent Palestine, in which both Arabs and Jews could live. What prevented this was not the "hatred and irrationality" of the Palestinians, but the determination of the Zionists to carve an exclusive Jewish state out of an Arab country.

Moshe Dayan explained this very well in the Sept. 30, 1968, *Jerusalem Post*. "Every solution—including the establishment of a bi-national state—faced the alternative of either making allowances for the views and desires of the Arabs and putting an end to Zionism," Dayan said, "or carrying on with immigration, land purchase and settlement while denying the right of the Arabs of Palestine to determine the future of the country."

The Israeli state was founded on the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinians and on the suppression of those who remained. The maintenance of the Israeli state requires the maintenance of this injustice, and this is the root of the ongoing conflict between Palestinians and Israelis.

Expulsion of the Palestinians

Although apologists for the Israeli state often claim that the Palestinians became a nation of exiles voluntarily, the truth is well documented by the Israelis themselves. Menachem Begin, who was the leader during the 1948 war of the right-wing terrorist organization, the Irgun, and who was taken into the Israeli cabinet in 1967, wrote in his book, *The Revolt, Story of the Irgun*:

"The legend of Deir Yassin [a village where the Irgun carried out a massacre of some 250 Arab men, women, and children] helped us in particular in the saving of Tiberias and the conquest of Haifa. . . . Arabs throughout the country . . . were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened uncontrollable stampede."

Yigal Allon, who was commander of the Palmach (an elite commando unit) in 1948, wrote in *The Book of the Palmach* of the tactics he used before May 15, 1948, and the declaration of the state of Israel to "clean the inner Galilee" of Arabs.

"I gathered all the Jewish mukhtars, who have contact with Arabs in different villages, and asked them to whisper in the ears of some Arabs that a great Jewish reinforcement had arrived in Galilee and that it is going to burn all the villages of Huleh. They should suggest to the Arabs, as their friends, to escape while there was still time. . . . The tactic reached its goal completely. . . . The wide areas were cleaned. . . ."

The expulsion of the Palestinians is not merely a historical tragedy, something unrelated to the current conflict. At the time of the 1967 war the *New York Times* reported: "There seems to be little doubt that the 60,000 inhabitants of the three big United Nations camps around Jericho were attacked by planes on the second day of the fighting. . . . Senior UN officials believe that a pattern of expulsion is emerging. They say the Israelis appear to be concentrating on pushing out inhabitants of such frontier villages as Qalqilya and Tulkarm as well as the inhabitants of the big refugee camps. . . . Israeli loudspeakers warned the inhabitants, 'You have two hours to leave. After that we cannot guarantee your safety.'"

According to a report in the June 29, 1967, *New York Times*, much of Qalqilya was destroyed after the fighting was over. The nature of the Israeli settler-state ensures that such atrocities will continue as long as Israel exists.

A new holocaust?

Along with the cover-up of Zionist crimes by backers of Israel goes the argument that Israel is needed to protect the Jewish people from extermination. In the Middle East, however, the hostility to Jews came about as a result of the crimes of Zionism.

The hatred that the Arab masses feel for Zionism is a natural reaction to oppression. The suffering of the Jews in Europe is no justification for the oppression of another people.

The aspiration of the Palestinians is not to oppress the Jews, but to cast off their own oppression.

Virtually all the major Palestinian organizations have rejected the idea of expelling the Israeli Jews from Palestine. Typical is the statement of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which insists on "the construction of a democratic popular state in the whole of the territory of Palestine in which Arabs and Jews will enjoy equal rights and obligations, everyone being entitled to develop his national culture in a democratic, progressive spirit."

Talk about extermination of the Jews if the Palestinians were to regain their rights is on the same level as Nixon's claim in 1969 that there would be a "bloodbath" if the U.S. got out of Vietnam. Similar arguments were used against the demands of the Mau Mau freedom fighters in Kenya and the Algerian revolution.



Establishment of a Jewish state required expulsion of the Palestinians.

The real danger to the Jewish people and the real source of anti-Semitism is not the struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights, but the capitalist system. Instead of recognizing this, Zionism pits the Jewish people against those who should be their natural allies. Because the Israeli state was imposed and is maintained only by force of arms, it must rely on U.S. imperialism and oppose the right of the Arab peoples to control their own resources and modernize their countries.

The only way out of this vicious cycle of continual warfare is for the Israeli Jews to reject their role as counterrevolutionary shock troops for the U.S. and as oppressors of the Palestinians. They must accept the idea of giving up their special privileges won at the expense of the Palestinians, and live together with them in a single state. Finally, they must join with the Palestinians and other Arab peoples in a common struggle for a socialist Middle East.

3,000 Arabs protest U.S.-Israeli terror

By MIKE KELLY

DEARBORN, Mich., Oct. 14—More than 3,000 people rallied here today to support the Arab cause in the Mideast war and to denounce U.S. aid to Israel. Ninety-five percent of the demonstrators were Arab.

Detroit's Arab community, numbering some 80,000, is the largest in North America. Today's march and rally, built on only a few days' notice, was called by the Arab-American Coordinating Committee. It was supported by almost every group in the Arab community, from Islamic

Mosques to the Organization of Arab Students.

United Auto Workers Local 600's hall in Dearborn was chosen as the gathering point to protest the purchase of Israeli Bonds by the UAW. Many of Local 600's members are Arabs.

From there the protesters marched 70 abreast down Vernor Avenue to the Islamic Mosque in one of the most spirited demonstrations Detroit has seen in years. Slogans and banners, many in Arabic, almost universally focused on demands for an end to U.S. imperialist involvement on

Israel's side.

Demonstrators chanted:

Break our back? No you can't!
We will get our homeland back!

Nixon, Nixon, don't forget
Agnew fell and you will yet.
Keep your bomb, keep your jet,
No more aid, for your pet!

Free of taxes, Israeli bonds
To purchase Arms, to kill my people.
Phosphor bombs, napalm bombs,
Tax-free bombs, to kill my people.
We must scream, we must thunder,
No, No, Nixon, No more bombs!

Signs and banners included "No Vietnam in the Mideast," "Stop U.S.-Israeli terror against Arab people," and "Israel wants its peace—a piece of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt!"

Detroit Socialist Workers Party candidates marched under a banner declaring "U.S. — Hands off the Mideast!" There were no Democratic or Republican candidates to be seen on the march.

One of the speakers at the rally was Abdeen Jabara, Detroit attorney and former editor of *Free Palestine*. He was met with loud cheers and cries of "You speak the truth!" when he declared that "Arab liberation can not be won through manipulation but only through struggle."

A spirited fund-raising speech raised more than \$30,000 for medical and other supplies for the Arab forces. Hundreds donated. A large number of Arab auto workers pledged or gave a whole week's pay. One young Arab



Speakers at Arab rally of 3,000 in Dearborn, Mich.

auto worker who was helping this reporter translate the speeches from Arabic enthusiastically donated \$100.

The mood of the crowd and the community was perhaps best summed up by a speaker who declared that the last 25 years had been miserable for him and the Arab people but that the past nine days "were the best in my life."

The coordinating committee called for continued protests and set Oct. 28 as the date for another mass rally.

Help us spread the truth

Because it tells the truth about the Israeli aggression in the Mideast, *The Militant* has been welcomed at the many rallies and meetings in support of the Arab cause. At the big Dearborn, Mich., demonstration Oct. 14, *Militant* salespeople quickly sold all of the 285 copies they had brought.

According to correspondent Mike Kelly, "One Arab bought 25 copies and handed them out to friends. At least three older Arabs told me they couldn't read English well but gave me quarters and said, 'give it to someone who can. Thank you for supporting us.'"

The weekend of Oct. 13-14 hundreds of *Militants* were sold in Arab communities from Brooklyn to San Francisco. Salespeople in Los Angeles have reported that many

are also buying *The Militant* who sympathize with Zionism but are suspicious because the U.S. imperialist rulers support Israel.

Help get out the truth about the Mideast war! Help counteract the lies that come out every day in the mass media. Order a bundle of next week's *Militant* to sell in your area.

Send me () copies of the next issue of *The Militant*. (You will be billed 17 cents per issue for five or more.)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Send to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Rallies demand: U.S. hands off Mideast!

Militant correspondents around the country report demonstrations, rallies, and teach-ins to protest U.S. complicity with Israeli aggression in the Mideast.

On Oct. 10, 350 students came to a teach-in on the Mideast conflict sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students (OAS), the Iranian Students Association, the Young Socialist Alliance, and other groups. The same day, a teach-in of 150 took place at Wayne State University in Detroit. It was organized by the OAS, YSA, and the Association of Black Students, among other groups.

In Chicago Oct. 14, 300 Arabs rallied at the Illinois Institute of Tech-

nology. Socialist Workers Party spokesman Fred Halstead, one of the few non-Arabs in the audience, was asked to speak by organizers of the meeting. The rest of the program was in Arabic.

On Oct. 15 Imamu Baraka of the Black Political Assembly held a news conference to urge support by Black people to the Arab cause. He pointed to Israel's ties with the white-supremacist regimes of Africa.

The Palestine Support Coalition at the University of Washington in Seattle organized a march and rally of 250 people Oct. 11. Participants included Iranian, Black, and Chicano students as well as Arabs. The same day a

march of 80 was held at the University of Colorado in Boulder involving Arab students, Black students, American Indians, the YSA, and the United Mexican American Students.

Also on Oct. 11, a teach-in was held at Boston University entitled "Crisis in the Middle East—The meaning of the current war." About 250 attended, despite attempts by university officials to cancel the meeting on the grounds of telephone threats they claimed to have received. One of the speakers was Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston school committee.

"Liberation, Not Occupation," and "No U.S. Arms to Israel" were the main chants at a demonstration of about 75 students at the University of Indiana in Bloomington Oct. 11. Half of the demonstration, which was called on only 24 hours notice, was made up of Arab students.

Also on Oct. 11, more than 300 people marched in front of the Israeli consulate in San Francisco, protesting U.S. intervention in the Mideast war. The action was called by the OAS and the Iranian Students Association.

In New York City, where the Democratic and Republican candidates have all been campaigning vociferously for Israel, three candidates of the Socialist Workers Party appeared at a street rally in the Arab community on Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn Oct. 16. More than 200 copies of *The Militant*, the newspaper supporting the SWP campaign, had been sold in the area in the past two days, and 50 to 60 young Arabs stopped to listen to the socialist candidates speak out in support of Arab rights in the Mideast.

Appearing were Norman Oliver,



Militant/Michael Baumann

In New York City 100 Arabs turned out Oct. 14 to picket a Zionist demonstration. Forty-nine bought copies of *The Militant*. That evening more than 700 Arabs rallied in a Brooklyn church to protest Israeli-U.S. terror.

SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and Maxine Williams and Mark Friedman, candidates for Brooklyn borough president and councilman-at-large.

The *New York Post* and WPIX-TV sent reporters to cover the street rally.

The National Peace Action Coalition issued a statement Oct. 15 calling for "U.S. hands off the Middle East." Citing recent U.S. military moves in the Mideast, the release says, "We must remember the results of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. The consequences of intervention in the Middle East can be even more serious, because of the more direct danger of nuclear confrontation."



Militant/Steven Fuchs

The Young Socialist Alliance and Organization of Arab Students at the University of Texas in Austin set up adjoining literature tables on the Arab liberation struggle.

Socialist Workers Party stand on Israel and the Arab revolution

The following are excerpts from the resolution "Israel and the Arab Revolution" adopted by the twenty-fourth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party in August 1971.

The Socialist Workers Party gives unconditional support to the national liberation struggles of the Arab peoples against imperialism, that is, we support all these struggles regardless of their current leaderships. Our foremost task in implementing such support is to educate and mobilize the American people against U.S. imperialist actions in the Mideast.

Israel, created in accordance with the Zionist goal of establishing a Jewish state, could be set up in the Arab East only at the expense of the indigenous peoples of the area. Such a state could come into existence and maintain itself only by relying upon imperialism.

Israel is a settler-colonialist and expansionist capitalist state maintained principally by American imperialism, hostile to the surrounding Arab peoples. It is an imperialist beachhead in the Arab world that serves as the spearhead of imperialism's fight against the Arab revolution. We unconditionally support the struggles of the Arab peoples against the state of Israel.

The principal victims of the creation of Israel were the Palestinians—i.e., the Arabs who inhabited the region where Israel was established, who have been driven from their homes or placed in subjugation within Israel and the newly occupied territories. The Palestinians are a part of the Arab peoples, but they also form a distinct national grouping, with its own history of struggle against imperialism.

The struggle of the Palestinian people against their oppression and for self-determination has taken the form of a struggle to destroy the state of Israel. The currently expressed goal of this struggle is the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine. We give unconditional support to this struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination.

An integral part of our program for the Palestinian revolution and the Arab revolution as a whole is support of full civil, cultural, and religious rights for all nationalities in the Mideast, including the Israeli Jews. The major Palestinian liberation organizations also advance this concept and view it as essential to their attempt to win the Israeli Jewish masses away from support to Israel.

Our revolutionary socialist opposition to Zionism and the Israeli state has nothing in common with anti-Semitism, as the pro-Zionist propagandists maliciously and falsely assert. Anti-Semitism is anti-Jewish racism used to justify and reinforce oppression of the Jewish people. Marxists have been and remain the most militant and uncompromising fighters against anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews.

Zionism is not, as it claims, a national liberation movement. Zionism is a political movement that developed for the purpose of establishing a settler-colonial state in Palestine and that rules

the bourgeois society headed by the Israeli state today in alliance with world imperialism.

Zionism: trap for Jews

Zionism does not represent or promote the interests of the Jewish people. Within Israel, the Zionists lead the Jewish masses into the trap of opposing the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, a just and democratic struggle that will ultimately be victorious.

The racist oppression of the Israeli state against the Arabs is paralleled by racist oppression within Israel against Jews who come from the Arab countries and other colonial and semicolonial countries. Israeli capitalism exploits the Jewish workers in addition to superexploiting the Arab workers. Police repression against Arabs carries over to increasing repression against those Jews who oppose Zionism. Clerical restrictions on civil liberties affect Jews, and Arabs even more.

Portraying the victim as the criminal, imperialist and Zionist propaganda now attempts to equate the Palestinian goal of national liberation with the barbaric genocidal actions of the Nazis. One of the factors enabling the imperialists and Zionists to make this false comparison is the widespread racism against the Arab peoples that exists in Europe, North America, and Israel.

The imperialists and Zionists to the contrary, the basic interests of the Jewish masses of Israel reside in alliance with the Palestinian liberation struggle and support of the goal of a democratic Palestine. We have incessantly warned Jews throughout the world: Zionism leads you into conflict with your potential allies—the oppressed of the world—and has led you to ally with your worst enemy, imperialism. Imperialism in its death agony has already led to one holocaust against European Jewry; it can inflict similar catastrophes again unless it is overthrown in time by the mass force of the socialist revolution.

In the epoch of imperialism, neither the Palestinians in particular, nor the Arab peoples in general, can fully attain the goals of their struggle for national liberation, national economic development, and other democratic tasks, except through the process of permanent revolution. These objectives can only be fully realized and guaranteed by the victory of the working class at the head of the toiling masses, chiefly the peasantry, in



Palestinian children in refugee camp Militant/Pauli Boutelle

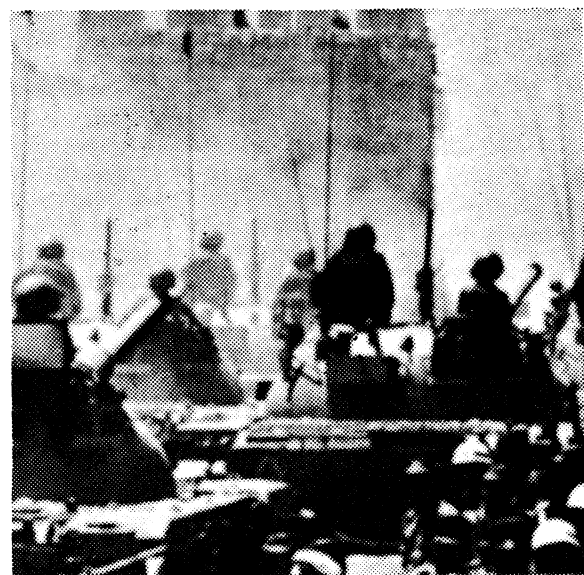
a revolution against the imperialists, their Israeli agents, and the Arab national bourgeoisie, and Arab feudal remnants.

The program of this revolution will combine democratic and transitional demands directed toward the creation of a workers state. This proletarian strategy implies unconditional support for carrying out the democratic tasks. The national bourgeoisie, whether "progressive" or "conservative," cannot lead the struggle for national liberation and democratization to victory over the imperialists, but instead limits, diverts, and suppresses it.

To lead the struggle for national liberation to completion through the process of permanent revolution, the creation of mass revolutionary-socialist parties is absolutely essential in both the Arab countries and Israel.

Role of Kremlin

The bourgeois regimes in several Arab states have turned to the USSR for economic and military aid to help their economic development and



Military parade on 25th anniversary of Israeli state. Israel functions as an imperialist beachhead in the Arab world.

to counterbalance imperialist pressure. As a result, in recent years the Soviet Union has become more deeply involved diplomatically and militarily in the Middle East. The Middle East, which borders on the Soviet Union, is an area where imperialist power immediately endangers the workers state, and is consequently an area of vital importance for Soviet foreign policy.

But the international policy of the Soviet bureaucracy is predicated on its conservative and narrowly conceived identification of the bureaucracy's own interests with the interests of the workers state. It sees the Arab liberation struggle as a pawn that can be sacrificed in its dealings with imperialism.

Moscow's goal is a Middle East settlement based upon the maintenance of the capitalist status quo and a division of this area into stable spheres of influence between it and imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy and the Stalinist parties in the Middle East oppose all independent revolutionary developments that threaten this status quo fundamentally, such as the Palestinian liberation struggle.

However, despite the enmity of Washington and the double-dealing of Moscow, the Arab revolutionary struggle will continue in spite of temporary setbacks and defeats until complete national liberation is attained. The central role played by U.S. imperialism in continually attempting to contain and crush the Arab revolution raises the dangerous possibility that it will force the Soviet Union into a military confrontation in the Middle East that can easily escalate into a worldwide nuclear war. This places special obligations upon the SWP to educate the American people about, and mobilize opposition to, Washington's aims and actions in the Mideast.

The continued drive by imperialism and the Israeli state, in collusion with the Kremlin and the bourgeois Arab regimes, to impose a "settlement" with Israel that would deny Palestinian national rights, will generate a new resurgence of struggle by the Palestinian people. The experience of other sectors of the colonial revolution shows that this can occur within a relatively short span of time.

The ongoing political discussion among the Palestinian fighters after the experience of the 1970 civil war in Jordan can mean that this new resurgence of struggle will occur on a more advanced political level.

Task of U. S. socialists

The fact that the United States is the chief imperialist power involved in the Mideast makes opposition to Washington's aims and actions there our central task in defending the Arab revolution. During the 1967 war itself, the SWP was the only major organization on the left to rally to an internationalist defense of the Arab revolution. Since then, as the importance of this sector of the world revolution has increased, defense of the Arab revolution has been an increasing part of the SWP's political activity. During the 1970 civil war in Jordan, the SWP campaigned against the threat of direct U.S. military intervention.

The SWP's political work in this area has centered on an educational campaign to counter imperialist and Zionist propaganda against the Arab revolution. Continuing this campaign remains the central focus of our political activity in defense of the Arab revolution. This campaign takes the form of thorough press coverage of developments in the Mideast, expanded publication of literature, participation in debates, teach-ins, organizing speaking tours, and other means of educating the newly radicalizing forces to an internationalist position on this question.

Scherr fights for Cleveland ballot spot

By DAVID PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND — This city recently passed a law establishing a two-round system for mayoral elections. In the first round, all but the top two candidates are eliminated. These two then compete in the general election.

This system, similar to those in many cities, is to keep anyone but the nominees of the two major parties out of the general elections.

That this procedure protects the political monopoly of the capitalist parties was brought home sharply here last week when Democrat James Carney, one of the two capitalist finalists in the Oct. 2 primary, withdrew "for personal reasons." Thus voters were left with the "choice" of voting for the one capitalist candidate—Republican incumbent Ralph Perk—or staying home!

But Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, is fighting for her right to oppose Perk and give the voters a real alternative.

On Oct. 15, Scherr appeared before the Cuyahoga County board of elections to demand that her name appear on the ballot Nov. 6. Attorney Ralph Rudd, representing Scherr, argued that the law required the city to list the two top candidates on the ballot.

Since the second place finisher had withdrawn, Scherr, who finished third, should be listed in his place, Rudd argued.

After hearing Scherr's request, the board voted not to allow her name on the ballot on the grounds that "only the top two names would appear on the ballot and no other names."

The proceedings were covered by all three television networks, both major newspapers, and four radio stations.

At a news conference following the election board meeting, Scherr stated,

"The intent of the city charter provision for a nonpartisan primary before the general elections was to provide two candidates to appear on the ballot for the general election. Carney's withdrawal leaves a gap which should be filled by the next highest candidate.

"Immediately after the primary I filed as a write-in candidate to guarantee Clevelanders a socialist alternative in the general election. I have appealed to the board of elections to place my name on the ballot to further guarantee that there is an alternative in this election.

"Since the board has ruled that there will be only one name on the ballot, I plan to launch a suit in court challenging that decision. At the same time I will continue to run as a write-in candidate."

Since Carney announced his withdrawal from the race, the SWP campaign office has received telephone calls from representatives of two Black organizations in the city and from people who voted for Scherr, asking how they could help now that she is "the only alternative."

Young Socialists for Scherr are organizing meetings for her at nearly every campus in the Cleveland area to build support for her suit and the election campaign.

Oliver denounces anti-Arab racism

By JOANNA MISNIK

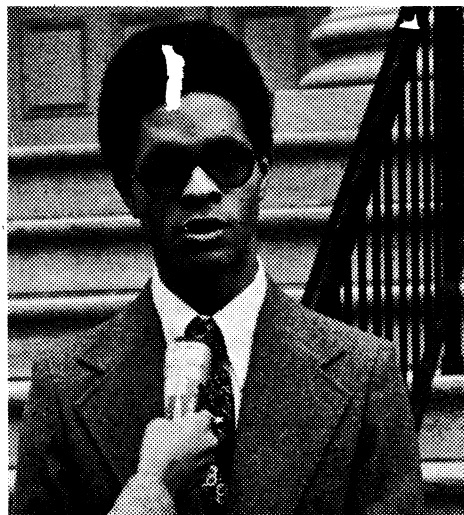
NEW YORK — Norman Oliver, speaking at an Oct. 13 Socialist Workers Party campaign banquet in Lower Manhattan, sharply attacked the support given Israeli aggression in the Mideast by his four capitalist party opponents in the mayoral race.

The 200 people attending the rally applauded Oliver's statement declaring full support to the struggle of the Arab peoples.

Oliver labeled the racist, pro-Zionist hysteria of his opponents as "no different from the hue and cry they have been raising for months for 'law and order' in New York City."

Oliver scored the calls by Beame, Blumenthal, Biaggi, and Marchi—the four capitalist candidates—for more cops, and said, "We don't need any more occupation forces in our Black and Puerto Rican communities—any more than the Arab peoples need Israeli occupation forces on their land."

Solidarity with the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of schools in District 1 was a theme that ran throughout the rally. A large number of activists from District 1 attended.



Militant/John Lauritsen

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, denounced his opponents' support of Israeli aggression.

Speakers included Georgina Hogard, former chairwoman of the District 1 community school board and a leader of the community-control fight; Ethel Lobman, mother of two children in District 1 schools and longtime community-control activist; and Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for city council from the Lower East Side.

Luis Fuentes, District 1 superintendent, sent a message to the rally "to express on behalf of the oppressed people of the Lower East Side—District 1—our thanks to the men and women of the Socialist Workers Party. Through thick and thin you have stood by us, with us, and supported us actively in our struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of our communities."

Special greetings were also heard from Mark Cooper, formerly personal translator to Allende, who escaped from Chile after the coup.

George Novack spoke on the history of *The Militant* and the progress of the paper's forty-fifth anniversary campaign.

In response to a fund appeal by Ron Wolin, Lower Manhattan SWP campaign director, nearly \$2,000 was contributed to help finance the final weeks of the campaign.

Pittsburgh NAM says 'Le Blanc for mayor'

By FRED STANTON

PITTSBURGH — The local chapter of the New American Movement (NAM) has voted to support Paul Le Blanc, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.

The Oct. 7 decision followed extensive discussion between NAM members and SWP campaigners. It was one indication of the widespread support being won for the first socialist campaign in Pittsburgh in 30 years.

Ten professors at the University of Pittsburgh, including the head of the history department, have signed a letter to the campus newspaper endorsing the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the one-candidate Democratic-Republican campaign. The professors' letter urges all members of the university community to give the SWP political and financial support.

The *Pittsburgh Gay News*, which has a circulation of 4,000, gave front-page coverage to Le Blanc's campaign. It said, "For the first time in the history of the city of Pittsburgh a candidate for mayor has come out publicly in support of full civil rights for gay people." The paper went on to outline the full SWP platform.

Le Blanc spoke at public hearings of the Home Rule Charter Commission on Oct. 10, presenting the socialist analysis of the crisis of the cities and how to solve it. One commissioner told Le Blanc after the hearing that he agreed with most of the SWP's proposals—although he considered some "idealistic"—and planned to vote for Le Blanc in November.

So far Mayor Peter Flaherty, the only capitalist candidate in the race, has made no public statement about the SWP campaign.

However, Flaherty's major rival in the earlier Democratic primary, Richard Caliguiri, announced in the Oct. 14 *Pittsburgh Press* that while he will not actively campaign he will accept write-in votes in November.

Caliguiri's declaration was reportedly made in response to pressure from many of his primary supporters, who "complained they had no option unless they voted for the Socialist Workers candidate."

Le Blanc responded, "Those who are looking for a real alternative to the Democratic-Republican-Constitutional candidate Flaherty would be wasting their votes on Caliguiri."

"As a Democrat in city council and a reluctant draftee mayoral write-in candidate, he does not represent a serious movement in the interest of working people. He is part of the same bankrupt system as Flaherty, and is in basic agreement with the status quo."

"Only the socialist movement is presenting a realistic program for changing society," Le Blanc said.

Socialist candidates on Houston city ballot

By JEAN SAVAGE

HOUSTON — The Socialist Workers Party ticket in the municipal elections here, headed by Dan Fein for mayor, has been officially placed on the ballot.

The SWP candidates won ballot status by filing 9,998 signatures on nominating petitions.

More than 50 campaign supporters gathered at the home of Chicana activist Gloria Guardiola for a campaign party Oct. 13 for Kris Vásquez, SWP candidate for Houston school board.

The party was attended by José Bustamante, city-wide organizer of the United Farm Workers Union, Jordanian students from South Texas Junior College, and activists in the Raza Unida Party. Also present were two families of striking farm workers from California.

Vásquez, an activist in the Mexican-American Youth Organization and Students for the Farm Workers at the University of Houston, has been speaking at meetings throughout the city and to a number of classes at U of H. She was well received by the Harris County Women's Political Caucus, and was interviewed for a half hour on the Elma Barrera TV show.



In her campaign for school board, Vásquez has stressed the need for bilingual education, Chicano studies departments, and an end to sexist tracking in the school system.

One recent highlight of the SWP campaign was a meeting of all mayoral candidates at Texas Southern University, a predominantly Black school. Interest clearly centered on Dan Fein's campaign, and 25 students stayed afterwards to talk to Fein.

Fein also got a good reception at Waltrip High School, where several students endorsed his campaign.

Fein recently spoke before a meeting of the National Alliance of Federal and Postal Employees. He is scheduled to speak on four TV stations and almost all the major radio stations, as well as at meetings of civic clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, Chicano community centers, and campus groups.

The SWP campaign committee is organizing a series of panels to be held at the University of Houston Oct. 26 and 27. Topics will include the coup in Chile, feminism and the Chicano movement, and the crisis of the U.S. economy.

Harry Ring of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau will be the featured speaker at a banquet Oct. 27, to be held at the campaign headquarters at 3311 Montrose.

Anti-Arab campaign must be answered

The escalating mobilization of U.S. military forces to the Middle East is a threat to the entire world.

On Oct. 15 Nixon warned that the U.S. approach was "like the policy we followed in 1958 when Lebanon was involved; it is like the policy we followed in 1970 when Jordan was involved."

In 1958 5,000 U.S. Marines invaded Lebanon to put down a revolutionary upsurge there. In 1970 Nixon mobilized the Sixth Fleet and U.S. troops in bases from Germany to Kentucky to counter the threat of revolution in Jordan.

The imperialist rulers of the U.S. have proved time and again that the maintenance of their power and privileges is more important to them than the survival of humanity. The latest U.S. moves in the Middle East are intended to protect the economic and political interests of U.S. imperialism. They have nothing in common with the interests of the people of either the Middle East or the U.S.

The experience of the Vietnam war has led many people here in the U.S. to view with healthy suspicion the idea of a new military adventure. Capitalist politicians, Zionist propagandists, and the mass media are working zealously to overcome this reluctance. Their method fits the cause they are defending. It is a campaign of racist slander and vilification directed against the Arab peoples.

The anti-Arab racism the Zionist regime breeds is the conquerors' contempt for their victims—a contempt that is used to justify oppression. A Harris poll published by *Time* magazine in 1971 found that half of Israeli Jews thought "Arabs are, lazier than Israelis." Three out of four believed Arabs "less intelligent" and "more cruel." Two out of three thought Arabs "inferior" and "more dishonest." And 80 percent thought "Arabs are not so brave as Israelis."

The same racist chauvinism infects supporters of Israel in the U.S. A major chant at a pro-Israel rally of 30,000 held Oct. 14 in New York City was "Arab Blood Must Flow!"

Jacob Stein, a major Zionist leader, recently fumed that "the civilized nations of the world" had helped in "fostering a climate of opinion in Arab minds that leads them to believe they can proceed with impunity against Israel." In Stein's view that Arabs are not civilized people—they are barbarians.

The Israeli oppressors and their imperialist backers, as is usual in such cases, believe their own propaganda. "Gentlemen," Israeli Chief of Staff David Elazar told newsmen on Oct. 8, "we have begun the destruction of the Egyptian army." Two days later *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton complained "something went wrong."

News reports persist in discussing "the myth that Arabs can't fight." That they could have taken such a myth seriously is a small indication of the imperial arrogance of the U.S. rulers. But the difficulties of its client state in the Middle East have made the propagation of such racist poison more important than ever for the U.S.

A recent television newscast was typical in this regard. It showed Israeli troops dancing a hora, followed by Israeli wounded at a field hospital. Finally, it turned to a Syrian hospital—where wounded Israeli prisoners were shown! Israeli wounded were portrayed as human beings—Arab casualties were converted into statistics.

Involved here is conscious preparation for U.S. intervention in the fighting. This racist campaign aimed at the Arab peoples must be answered! And there are clear indications that such an effort would be able to reach masses of Americans.

Not only is the attention of millions focused on the Middle East, but the latest Gallup poll shows that most Americans do not identify with Israel in this war. Rallies, teach-ins, and information campaigns exposing the role of Israel in the Middle East have occurred on campuses and in communities across the country. They serve as an example of what has to be done on a larger scale in the coming weeks.

Another sign of the popular mood is the excellent response to the coverage of *The Militant* on events in the Middle East. We will continue to do our part by printing the truth about the Middle East. We urge our readers to do their part by ordering special bundles of *The Militant* and using them to spread the word.

Help us counter the danger of a new Vietnam in the Middle East!

Agrees on Middle East

The latest fighting in the Near East is but another grim reminder that there can be no peace in that whole region until the international community recognizes and unreservedly supports the full rights of the Palestinian people. It should be understood that the determination of the Palestinians, against all odds, is the expression of a living people. Their masses are tough and tenacious, and their leadership intelligent and educated. The percentage of university graduates among them is higher than in Britain. Their rights to their country, Palestine, and to self-determination are the real and primary issue of the so-called "Near East dilemma." This is the minimum that should be realized and supported by everyone, despite the knavery of politicians and the ruthlessness of profiteers.

R. Busailah
Kokomo, Ind.

Disagrees on Middle East

Your editorial supporting the Arabs in the new Middle East war is a prime example of how reason, when divorced from morality, leads to stupidity.

The reason the Arabs are fighting is not to free themselves or to regain lost rights. Their fighting is part of a continuing anti-Jewish hatred campaign designed by Arab dictators to divert popular attention from their own self-serving regimes. The Arabs don't care one whit about adding thousands of square miles of desert to their still barren millions.

Nor have they ever shown the slightest disposition towards granting their own people the "democratic right of self-determination" that you so righteously flaunt.

Politics must be judged by morality and the true meaning of justice and freedom, not the version that dictators feed the people.

Thomas Anthony
Ithaca, N. Y.

Hypocrites at work

Miss North Australia was declared ineligible as a contestant recently in the Miss Australia contest. Why? Because she is the unmarried mother of a two-year-old son. A sponsor of the contest said, "The moral aspect is most important. If we lowered our standards we would be in trouble with prize donors and sponsors."

It's not enough that these contests parade women around like cattle, but they also have to guarantee that what's on display is stamped "pure." Otherwise they consider it indecent and immoral!

To add insult to injury I just read that an Ohio high school senior, also an unwed mother, was ruled off the homecoming queen ballot. The school principal told her "only virgins can run for homecoming queen." (I wonder if they only allow virgins to play on the football team.) This woman is fighting back. She has filed suit in U.S. District Court asking that the student election for homecoming queen be voided.

E. J.
New York, N. Y.

'The Spanish Revolution'

In your recent book review by Tony Thomas of Trotsky's *The Spanish Revolution* [*Militant*, Oct. 5] I find a mistaken notion concerning the events of the struggle that took place in Spain during the 1930s. You quote Trotsky as saying about the POUM, "... they did not carry on revolutionary work in the republican army. They built instead 'their own' trade unions and 'their own' militia, which guarded 'their own' institutions or occupied 'their own' sections of the front."

It should be only fair for you to tell your readers that the militias of the POUM, and the various other political groups, were in existence well before the so-called Popular Army of the republican government was formed. When Franco's crew started their military campaign, these militias were quickly formed and were the only groups that kept Franco in check during the early days of the struggle. What kept these militias functioning was not an elite of officers corps, but rather working-class solidarity and a common belief that they were fighting for a better world, and not just against fascism.

The Communist Party-dominated Popular Army stopped all that as it abolished these militias. Since the CP received arms from Russia, it was in a position of power. Its policy was against revolution, and as a result the Popular Army was specifically formed to keep the revolutionary groups in line, throwing democracy and solidarity out the window in the process. To try and "revolutionize" the republican army would have been a contradiction. The revolutionary groups of Spain would have been much better off if they had nothing to do with the bourgeois-Communist government or its army.

D. Nolan
Portland, Ore.

Tony Thomas replies—Trotsky had no illusions that the republican army could be transformed into a revolutionary instrument. In fact, Trotsky's central difference with the POUM was that they gave support to and participated in the Popular Front government, which as you point out was against the revolution.

Rather than maintaining their own sectarian military formations as elements within the Popular Front coalition, Trotsky advised them to enter the republican army to do revolutionary work, as the Bolsheviks did in the czarist army. Their refusal to directly confront the Stalinists in the army and the unions, or to break from Popular Frontism, was the main roadblock to building a revolutionary opposition to the Popular Front.

Well-written and rational

Having been exposed to your newspaper through the College-in-the-Woods Library at Marpur College, I would like to say how pleased I am with it.

The Militant is well written, rational, and genuinely concerned with eliminating exploitation of men by others.

Therefore, I am buying subscriptions for three of my friends.

N. M.
Binghamton, N. Y.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



In defense of quotas

Attica massacre memorial

On September 13 the men confined here at the Great Meadow Correctional Facility in Comstock, N. Y., attempted to commemorate the death of the men who were killed and slaughtered at Attica.

During our free time in the yard, we held a memorial to honor the deaths of our friends. However, the prison officials first turned up the radio loudspeakers so that the speakers could not be heard. When requests were made to turn off the loudspeakers, the administration ordered that the yard be closed completely and that all men be confined to their cells. The next day many men were taken from their cells and placed in special punishment units.

People in the free world remember their friends, relatives, and anniversaries throughout the years. We attempted to do such and were punished; we were denied that human aspect of life.

We are requesting you, the public, to come to our aid. Petition the governor, the commissioner, your legislator, to recognize Sept. 13 each and every year as a day of infamy, never to be forgotten and to be remembered for all time to come.

Prisoners
Comstock, N. Y.

Prisoners in Hawaii

Recently an inmate was shot and killed while playing cards in the prison library at the State Prison in Honolulu. No information is available on who did it or why. This caused the prison authorities to call in the National Guard to search the prison for weapons. The problem is not so much with the search itself (although this is also highly questionable) as to the subsequent curtailment of all prisoners' rights (what few they had).

Personal belongings, including books, magazines, tape recorders, radios, records, legal documents, arts and crafts, were confiscated from the prisoners and taken to the local dump.

All the inmates were forced to sleep in the open on the recreation field while their cells were being checked. Some of the inmates, referred to as "ringleaders," or "incorrigibles," were put in solitary confinement without hearing.

In response to this abuse the inmates staged a hunger strike and refused to return to their cells after they had been checked. The next day the prison authorities refused to feed the men or allow them to have anything (soap, water, blankets, etc.). They remained in the recreation yard, and despite constant harassment from the police, a crowd of supporters outside the prison grew. Some people threw food over the first fence, close enough to the second fence that inmates were able to retrieve it.

A reader
Honolulu, Hawaii

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Detroit Edison Company was ordered early this month by a federal judge to pay \$4-million in damages to Blacks who have been victims of racist hiring and promotion practices.

More important, the judge, U.S. District Judge Damon Keith, ordered the utility to actively seek Black employees through extensive advertising, with a goal of a 30 percent Black work force. The judge ordered that three Blacks must be promoted to skilled jobs for every two whites until 25 percent of these jobs are held by Blacks. In addition, one Black must be promoted to foreman or supervisor for every white so promoted.

Limited forms of preferential hiring and promotion have been established at other private companies and government agencies. In each case, these corrective policies have been won through pressure by Blacks and other victims of discriminatory employment practices.

Some of the most vocal opposition to preferential hiring through setting quotas for Blacks and other victims of special oppression has come from certain quarters of the Jewish community.

Last month, a "summit" meeting of Black newspaper publishers and Jewish leaders took place in New York City. The issue of quotas was high on the agenda.

Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *Sun Reporter*, a Black San Francisco weekly, and president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, a Black group, attacked Jewish opposition to quotas in his speech.

Benjamin Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, replied to Goodlett, attempting to justify this opposition.

Epstein claimed his opposition to quotas stemmed from the persecution suffered by Jews under the quota system imposed by Hitler.

"We say that in a democratic open society we must have the opportunity for participation. We do not believe that a democratic society can be reached on a number system," he said.

Epstein claims that "Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, every American group should have the right

and the opportunity to education, to preparation, to full participation in a democratic society." But quotas, he adds, are "destructive of a democratic society." He advocates a "merit" system.

Epstein begins from a false premise. He assumes the U.S. to be a democratic society, with all citizens *guaranteed* equal rights and opportunities. He argues against quotas because it constitutes a "numbers system."

Under the present setup, the quota "numbers system"—preferential hiring—is *the only way of guaranteeing* equal employment opportunity to Blacks who've been denied it so long.

Epstein asserts that a democratic society cannot be reached through a "numbers system." He doesn't tell us, though, that it's precisely a numbers "game" that has long been played upon Blacks. Only a small "number" of Blacks reap the best of society's benefits. The rest, the overwhelming "number," reap a rotten crop of racist exclusion and mistreatment.

Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women are victims of special oppression—national or sexual oppression, or both. Quotas are also a way of compensation for years of racist and sexist treatment.

The merit system that Epstein touts might work if Blacks did not suffer this special oppression that keeps them unprepared to compete with whites on an equal social footing.

To argue as Epstein does that Hitler's imposition of quotas *against* Jews is the reason to deny them *for* Blacks turns logic on its head. Quotas for Blacks are a way of *opening up* opportunities and ensuring them that certain of their rights will not be trampled upon. Hitler's quotas were designed to *close* opportunities to Jews.

In short, Epstein's arguments, and those of other Jewish leaders who oppose quotas with similar arguments, are an attempt to maintain exclusive Jewish and white privileges at the expense of Blacks.

As Goodlett accurately points out, Blacks not only need quotas in hiring and promotional practices, but also in housing, education, and a host of other social situations where equal opportunity is now denied.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



The Peronists and the Yankees

The following is a guest column by Militant staff writer Mirta Vidal, who recently returned from Mexico and Argentina. In Argentina she covered the recent election campaign of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

On the road to the airport in Mexico City there's a billboard that advertises: "Coca Cola—one minute away in any direction." And in case the Coca Cola makes you hungry, there's always a Burger Boy a little further down the road.

From Mexico to Argentina, "the American way of life"—though not the standard of living—has infiltrated the lives of Latin Americans.

In Buenos Aires, for example, while I waited to take off in an Aerolineas Argentinas airplane, the sounds of Ray Conniff and Herb Alpert on the loudspeaker gave me the feeling of sitting in a Park Avenue dentist's office.

As I sat there helplessly strapped in my seat, I recalled a conversation a few days back with a young Argentine bank worker. "One of the first things that radicalized me," he had told me, "was seeing young people dancing and singing to music in a language they can't understand."

These are only some of the daily contradictions bred by American imperialism that thousands upon thousands of young people throughout Latin America are rebelling against.

And that's why so many young Argentines supported Perón in the recent elections. In fact, the main campaign slogan of the Peronist Youth was "Perón presidente—los Yanquis que revienten," which loosely translated means "Perón for president—to hell with the Yankees."

Unfortunately for these thousands of well-intentioned young militants, Perón is not the answer to their aspirations.

The Peronist regime, for example, was one of the

first in the world to recognize the Chilean military junta just a few days after the U.S.-backed coup.

Soon after the coup, Perón told the press that it was the "hurried youth" of Chile who were to blame for the outcome of events there. He was referring to those young people who, just like the Argentine youth who now support Perón, supported Allende because he had promised to drive the American imperialists out of their country.

Perón's actions since the elections are opening the eyes of Peronist youth throughout Argentina.

The day after the elections of Sept. 23, the Peronist government declared the Revolutionary People's Army illegal. And the following day, it launched a campaign against "Marxist infiltration" into the Peronist movement. This has set the stage for expanding the purge against all radicals and socialists in the country.

Many Peronist youth felt that, even though Perón might not himself bring about substantial changes, the socialist ranks of his movement could pressure him into doing so. They are quickly learning this is not so.

"We're totally confused," one Peronist Youth activist told me less than a week after the elections. "We've been saying that these were tactical maneuvers the 'old man' has to carry out. But his latest moves against the left can't be written off as mere 'tactics.'"

An increasing number of young Argentines in factories, high schools, and colleges are beginning to question Perón. They're learning whose interests he really represents. And they're beginning to see the need for a mass, revolutionary workers party with a socialist program, such as was lacking in Chile.

We can be sure these combative youth will not stand idly by as Perón moves further and further to the right. They have absorbed too well the lesson that the future lies in their hands.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



From the mob?—The Secret Service said that for a period it would continue providing protection for Spiro Agnew.

Image problem—The president prefers to ride around in a '68 Ford limousine leased by the government for \$5,000 a year rather than the '72 Lincoln, which is costing \$12,000 a year. The bulletproof glass in the Lincoln distorts camera shots of him. We can appreciate that. Imagine how it could look on a wanted poster.

In a good wind it goes, too—A recent sailboat exhibit featured the Celestial, a 71-foot fiberglass sailing yacht. The galley features a microwave oven, two freezers, and a garbage compacter. There's a stainless steel, teak-lined sauna and carpeted baths. Cost, "\$400,000 plus."

Nothing's for sure these days—The S. T. Dupont company of Paris offers cigarette lighters in Chinese lacquer, silver, and solid gold. From \$65 to approximately \$1,500. The \$1,500 is approximate because of current fluctuations in the market price of gold.

Faulty logic—Apparently to indicate the need for sensitivity in dealing with smoke fiends, *Human Behavior Magazine* discusses the case of a woman who tried to help her husband kick the habit by hiding the supply. Finally he went after her with a meat cleaver. The relevant point, it seems to us, is that she should have hid the cleaver with the cigarettes.

Regarding the age of decision—Dr. Paul Warner, a pro-Jesus Minnesota psychologist, warns against forcing a decision for Christ on very small children. Very often, he observed, they

grow up with big doubts. On the other hand, he cautioned, don't wait too long either because "the number of decisions for Christ in proportion to the number of people goes down after 12 years of age."

A concerned public servant—Governor Reagan vetoed a bill to qualify a quarter of a million California agricultural workers for unemployment benefits. The good governor explained the bill would "have the effect of increasing food prices for California consumers." And we certainly wouldn't want that to happen, would we?

Intangibles, they call them?—"We're marketing a commodity which is visible only as a reflection."—Richard Profuma, a PR man for the Guru Maharaj Ji.



Conrad

'Why go into that? . . . Impeachment of both the president and the vice-president at the same time would never happen!'

National Picket Line

'All in favor say aye'

The tenth constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO opens Oct. 18 in the Americana Hotel in Bal Harbour, Fla. One question that will be dealt with by the delegates is the proper relation between state labor bodies—the Colorado Labor Council (CLC), in particular—and the national AFL-CIO.

When the AFL-CIO Executive Council decided to remain "neutral" in favor of Nixon in the 1972 election, AFL-CIO President George Meany advised state bodies accordingly. He expected prompt obedience. But the CLC and some others wanted to continue their traditional practice of supporting the candidate of the capitalist Democratic Party. They protested that they were autonomous and had the right to decide their own political preferences. All but the CLC finally abided by Meany's dictate. The CLC, however, voted to endorse McGovern for president.

Meany moved swiftly to place the CLC in receivership and directed his surrogate Dan Healy to go to Denver on Sept. 19, 1972, and take over

then and there the affairs of the AFL-CIO state organization in Colorado. Lacking support of some of the major unions, Healy had little power to carry out his mandate. All he had to back him up was orders from Meany.

CLC President Herrick Roth called a CLC convention this year for Sept. 7-8. Delegates from a majority of AFL-CIO unions in the state voted to send five CLC officials to the AFL-CIO convention to appeal Meany's action. (See Sept. 28 *Militant*.)

Meantime, they have been circulating petitions for support among union members in Colorado to be presented to the AFL-CIO Appeals Committee at the convention. The CLC is also conducting a voluntary contribution campaign, asking local members or local union meetings to send money to *CLC Cause*.

Roth holds little hope of reversing Meany's decision to take control of the Colorado council and remove its officers. "All the CLC could hope for," he says, "would be the unforeseen circumstance

Frank Lovell



that the justice of its appeal will get to the conscience of the delegates, who in turn would make a sufficiently strong floor fight that might modify President Meany's order."

According to Roth, the CLC executive board is standing by to meet the week of Oct. 28 and decide what to do if the AFL-CIO convention upholds Meany.

No other action by the convention could be more certain. It's a foregone conclusion, like the motion to adjourn when the time comes. The one thing these hand-picked convention delegates—most of them presidents or other top office-holders of international unions—are *not* going to do is support insubordination in the ranks. They are by nature and training dead set against insubordination of any kind.

A vote on this issue of insubordination, which is how the whole matter will be presented to the convention by the Appeals Committee (if at all), is certain to be a simple reflex action. All in favor say aye. Aye. And so ordered.

Women In Revolt

Defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler!

As court proceedings against Dr. Henry Morgentaler began Sept. 24 in Montréal, 160 people picketed outside the courtroom. Later in the day, another picket line drew 200 people. Similar protests were held across Canada.

Morgentaler was arrested in his Montréal clinic Aug. 15. He is a well-known advocate of women's right to safe abortion and has publicly stated that over the past few years he has performed thousands of abortions in his clinic. He faces 13 charges under the abortion section of the Canadian Criminal Code. If convicted, he is liable to life imprisonment.

The arrest of Dr. Morgentaler is the Canadian government's latest attack on the growing abortion law repeal movement in Canada. Joan Campana, staff coordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), recently told a meeting of the CWC, "If these charges are successful, *at best* it means freezing the present situation: the abortion quotas in the hospitals . . . the illegal abortions for countless women who can't get legal ones. But even more likely, it would mean opening the door to further attacks."

A large defense campaign has been launched by abortion rights advocates in Canada with defense committees established in Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and

Vancouver. Sponsors include such figures as Dr. Augustine Roy, head of the Québec College of Physicians and Surgeons; Doris Anderson, editor of *Chatelaine*, Canada's most widely circulated women's magazine; and three members of parliament. In addition, the three main labor confederations of Québec have endorsed the defense campaign—the Québec Teachers Union, Québec Federation of Labor, and the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

The struggle to make abortion every woman's right to choose has become a focus of the international struggle for women's liberation. A defeat for Dr. Morgentaler would be an international blow and would spur on the reactionary "right-to-life" forces in every country.

An international defense campaign must be built to demand that the Canadian government drop the charges against Morgentaler. In response to the appeal from the Morgentaler Defense Committee for international support, members of the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign in England organized a picket line outside Canada House to protest his arrest. In the U.S. the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, the National Association to Repeal All Abortion Laws, and the New York National Organization for Women sent telegrams to Québec Justice Minister

Choquette demanding that the charges be dropped. (Telegrams of protest should be sent to: Jerome Choquette, Minister of Justice, Québec, P.Q., Canada, with copies to the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, Box 186, Station F, Toronto, Canada.) Members of the American Humanist Association have initiated an International Defense Committee for Dr. Morgentaler.

The mounting public support for Morgentaler, both within Canada and internationally, has already had some effect. Morgentaler was originally released from custody under exceptionally restrictive conditions. Among others, he could not speak to the media about his case or "his cause" and could not leave Montréal. These restrictions have now been modified. He is free to leave Montréal and to participate in press conferences, although he is still prohibited from speaking on abortion.

Defense lawyers have also won the right to a French-speaking jury and severance of the charges—meaning that Morgentaler will be tried on each charge separately rather than on the charges grouped together. The trial, originally scheduled for Sept. 24, was postponed until Oct. 18.

A strong show of international solidarity will help beat back the enemies of women's rights.

DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST DR. HENRY MORGENTALER!



Linda Jenness

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

OCTOBER 26, 1973

Socialists challenge Bourassa in Quebec national elections



Manon Léger: calls for Quebec independence through socialism

By Tony Thomps

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers League—LSO), the Quebec section of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, has announced it will be running Manon Léger in the Quebec national elections scheduled for October 29.

Léger, a 26-year-old office worker, will be opposing Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, a member of the Liberal party, in the National Assembly elections in Mercier County.

In 1970 Léger ran for mayor of Montréal and received 7,000 votes. In that campaign she focused on the repressive War Measures Act, which led to the occupation of Montréal by federal troops and the imprisonment of nationalist and trade-union figures, including several leaders of the LSO. Léger herself was arrested for attempting to carry her campaign to the barracks of the occupation troops.

The central issues in the October 29 elections will be the question of national independence for Quebec and threats of government antilabor legislation if Bourassa's Liberals retain power.

In the past three years Quebec has been rocked by massive labor struggles, the most significant of which was the May-June 1972 public workers strike that mobilized more than 100,000 workers. Bourassa has promised to pass a series of antilabor laws to stem these struggles if his party retains a majority in the Quebec National Assembly. He announced that he will outlaw strikes in sectors

designated "essential services."

Another key factor in Quebec politics is the massive support for independence from Canada and for an end to linguistic discrimination against Quebec's French-speaking majority by English-Canadian and U.S.-controlled banks and corporations.

In the last Quebec elections in 1970, the Parti Québécois (Quebec Party—PQ), led by René Levesque, received more than 25 percent of the vote. The PQ is a liberal capitalist party that favors limited independence for Quebec to enhance the position of French-speaking capitalists in Quebec.

In the absence of a mass, proindependence party based on the Québécois workers, the nationalist sentiment in Quebec and much of the discontent in the trade-union movement there has been channeled into support for the PQ.

The October 7 issue of *Québec Presse*, a Montréal labor newspaper, reported that the leaders of Quebec's three largest trade-union federations were discussing the formation of a "common front" to campaign against Bourassa in the elections. While these unions by tradition do not endorse candidates, statements by their leaders have made it clear that their aim will be to help the PQ win the elections.

For a Workers Party

Manon Léger's campaign will be directed against the causes of the oppression and exploitation faced by the Quebec people. A news release from her campaign committee announced that the LSO was entering the race

"under the banner of independence and socialism and intends to lead a hot campaign against Bourassa and against all the other candidates of the bourgeois parties, including the PQ."

In an interview published in the Canadian *Young Socialist* newspaper, Léger pointed out the PQ's inability to bring liberation to Quebec:

"We believe that the Parti Québécois is a bourgeois party," she said. "When we call it a bourgeois party we mean that it fundamentally has the perspective of maintaining capitalist property relationships in Quebec. The PQ tries to present itself as a party of all classes. Its program in no way puts into question the imperialist domination of Quebec."

Léger continued, "Quebec's national oppression is rooted in the foreign imperialist domination of its economy and resources. The PQ's program calls for formal independence and some reforms, but they will never make a decisive break with the foreign imperialists. Their concept of independence would be meaningless for the Québécois because they have no perspective of leading a struggle to fundamentally change the system. We believe that the struggle for socialism is necessary for ending Quebec's oppression."

The LSO campaign will call for the Quebec workers movement to break from support to the PQ and other capitalist parties and form a mass workers party. Léger's campaign program explains:

"So that the Quebec workers movement can undertake the struggle for independence and socialism, and arm itself politically to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers of the entire world and especially with those in English Canada who face the same oppressive capitalist state in Ottawa, the LSO proposes the following measures:

"Create a labor party, opposed to all bourgeois parties; a party which will not limit itself to elections, but which will participate in and strengthen all mass struggles. A party that will defend the interests of the oppressed in the National Assembly and on all levels of national life."

Paul Kouri, Léger's campaign manager, told the *Young Socialist* the LSO will urge the unions, and other socialist groups, to put up candidates against the capitalist politicians. He said this would be "a way of posing the need for workers to break from the bourgeois parties and not place their confidence in them."

Kouri said the LSO would support such candidates "to the extent that their campaign would help workers break from the bourgeois parties and develop toward independent labor political action."

Key to the LSO campaign is a program for ending national oppression. Manon Léger endorses complete national independence for Quebec "by a thoroughgoing expulsion of imperialism: its army, monetary, and tariff systems, and its military alliances (NATO, NORAD, etc.)." It

calls for ending the oppression of the French-speaking majority by making French the official language of school, work, and government.

The LSO platform also calls for "the expropriation of all foreign monopolies, under workers control; for the nationalization of the banks; for the planning of the economy in the interests of the Québécois masses," as the only basis for real national liberation.

The LSO program contrasts with that of the PQ, which does not call for an end to imperialist economic domination and military ties. Nor does the PQ support the demand to make French the only official language in Quebec.

Fight Unemployment and Inflation

Léger's campaign also includes a program of socialist solutions to the problems of mounting inflation and unemployment facing the Québécois workers.

She proposes a fight against unemployment based on 40 hours pay for 30 hours work and nationalization under workers control of factories that have been shut down. Her program also calls for a sliding scale of wages tied to the rise in prices, and for nationalization of big corporations and the food chains, under workers control.

A full program of demands against the oppression of Québécois women is being raised in the LSO campaign, including the right to abortion, equal pay for equal work, and free, twenty-four-hour child care. Of special importance in her campaign will be the



Léger's opponent, Quebec Premier Bourassa, proposes antilabor legislation.

demand for freeing Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montréal doctor who is on trial for refusing to obey Canada's reactionary antiabortion laws.

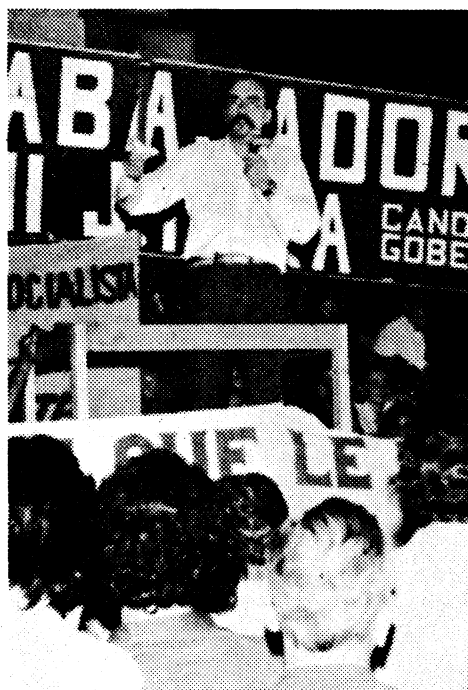
The LSO campaign is putting forward the only program that can solve the national oppression and economic exploitation facing the Québécois masses—that is, national liberation and socialism through political independence of the working class.

Peron launches purge attack on 'Marxists,' left Peronists

By Gerry Foley

"Juan Domingo Perón's order to purge the Peronist movement of all traces of Marxism has reduced the left wing to a state of numbed shock," the *Buenos Aires Herald* reported in its October 3 issue. The daily of the English-speaking commercial community was referring to a secret order issued by Perón to provincial governors meeting October 1 in the Argentine capital. The text was "leaked" the *Herald* said, by the October 2 *La Opinión*.

This document in fact left little room for doubt that General Perón hopes to accomplish by means of a "democratic" dictatorship what the military rulers of the country failed to do by relying on the traditional repressive forces alone. The "people's general" was moving rapidly to carry out his part of the deal with the military under which he was permitted to return to the head of the government, i.e., to curb the radical youth and "discipline" the Argentine workers.



Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party, was the only working-class alternative to Peron in the last two elections.

The old caudillo's "declaration of war on Marxism" called for a draconian purge of the Peronist movement and the gagging of all oppositionist elements within it. In addition, it contained passages that seemed to call for a war on the entire left, outside as well as inside the Peronist movement. For example, it stated: "Without detracting from their specific functions, the work of the Peronist compañeros in the national, provincial, and municipal governments must be adjusted to serve the aims and advancement of this struggle, since they bear the principal responsibility for defending the social peace."

Another directive, besides calling for a ban on "Marxist propaganda" in the movement, said that "such propaganda" would be prevented by "any

and all means."

In fact, the right-wing Peronists launched a gang war against the left from the very day of *el líder's* return. Near the Ezeiza airport they opened fire on the left-wing contingents gathered to welcome their hero, slaughtering scores of bystanders. At that time, too, "the supremecommander of the Argentine nationality" put the blame for the violence on the left. But then he did so only by innuendo. Now the attacks have become explicit, and Perón has offered official sanction of the rightist goon squads that have been escalating their attacks.

Claims that left-wing guerrilla groups touched off the Ezeiza massacre gave Perón a pretext for removing from the government the liberal Peronists associated with the resistance to the military dictatorship. The still unsolved assassination of the head of the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy, José Ignacio Rucci, on September 24 provided the pretext for declaring "war on Marxism."

Rucci's death was followed by a wave of commando attacks against prominent representatives of all left tendencies. On the same day as the assassination, the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires, a stronghold of the Peronist left, was fire-bombed.

On September 25, Enrique Grinberg, the leader of Region No. 1 of the JP (Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth), the main left Peronist organization, was assassinated.

The Communist party headquarters in Mendoza was defaced and leaflets were scattered around the area bearing the signature "the José Ignacio Rucci Commando Group." Also attacked was the Mar del Plata headquarters of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, an organization that maintains fraternal ties with the Fourth International). Many other threats and assaults were noted.

The regime also tried to exploit the memory of left-wing opposition to Perón's first nationalist government so as to lump the left and right together as tools of imperialism. Since the Communist party had opposed Perón in the 1940s in the name of the Soviet alliance with "democratic" imperialism, the Peronist bosses could expect their invocations of a "proimperialist left" to strike a chord among sectors of the masses.

In Chubut, Argentina's provisional president, Raúl Lastiri, said: "The minuscule groups that have been shoved to the sidelines of this process [of "national and social liberation"], pursuing obscure antinational aims that coincide with the interests of the unpatriotic reactionaries they claim to be fighting, have placed themselves outside the law. They have merited the profound repudiation of the people that was shown by the total general strike held two days ago to commemorate the event you all know about [the assassination of Rucci]."

While the Peronist leaders were raising a phony rightist bogeyman,

they were leading a real rightist offensive in a blitzkrieg against the left. The liberal Peronists still holding key positions were put under heavy pressure to join the offensive or be ousted.

"The governors were also told to go back to their provinces and purge their own administrations of Marxists," the *Herald* report continued. "The provincial governments of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, Salta, La Rioja and San Luis have all been denounced by orthodox Peronists as being infiltrated by leftist extremists."

Not only was pressure brought to bear on Peronists in local office but the very showcase and bastion of the Peronist left fell to the rightist offensive.

Last May 28, only three days after the Cámpora government took office, the Peronist organizations occupied the universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata, allegedly to forestall sabotage by the right. Interventors were appointed to assure "popular control."

"Special deans have been appointed in most of the schools," the PST paper *Avanzada Socialista* wrote in its June 7 issue. "Their arrival was received quite enthusiastically by the compañeros of the JUP [Juventud Universitaria Peronista—Peronist Student Youth], as well as other Peronist currents. All hastened to point out—concurring with Puiggrós, the interventor of the University of Buenos Aires—that a new stage was opening in the life of the universities: the stage of the 'na-

tional, people's university.'"

Following Cámpora's resignation and the election of Perón, rumors began to circulate that "reactionary infiltrators" intended to remove Puiggrós. On October 1, the interventors in the various schools of the University of Buenos Aires held a press conference to announce that they had learned that the Ministry of Education had asked for Puiggrós's resignation. They issued as strong a protest as they apparently felt was compatible with the "Peronist principle of centralized command."

The same day that Puiggrós's removal became known, 20,000 students went into the streets to protest. But the movement was suddenly demobilized, the *Herald* claimed, when Perón came out openly on the side of the right.

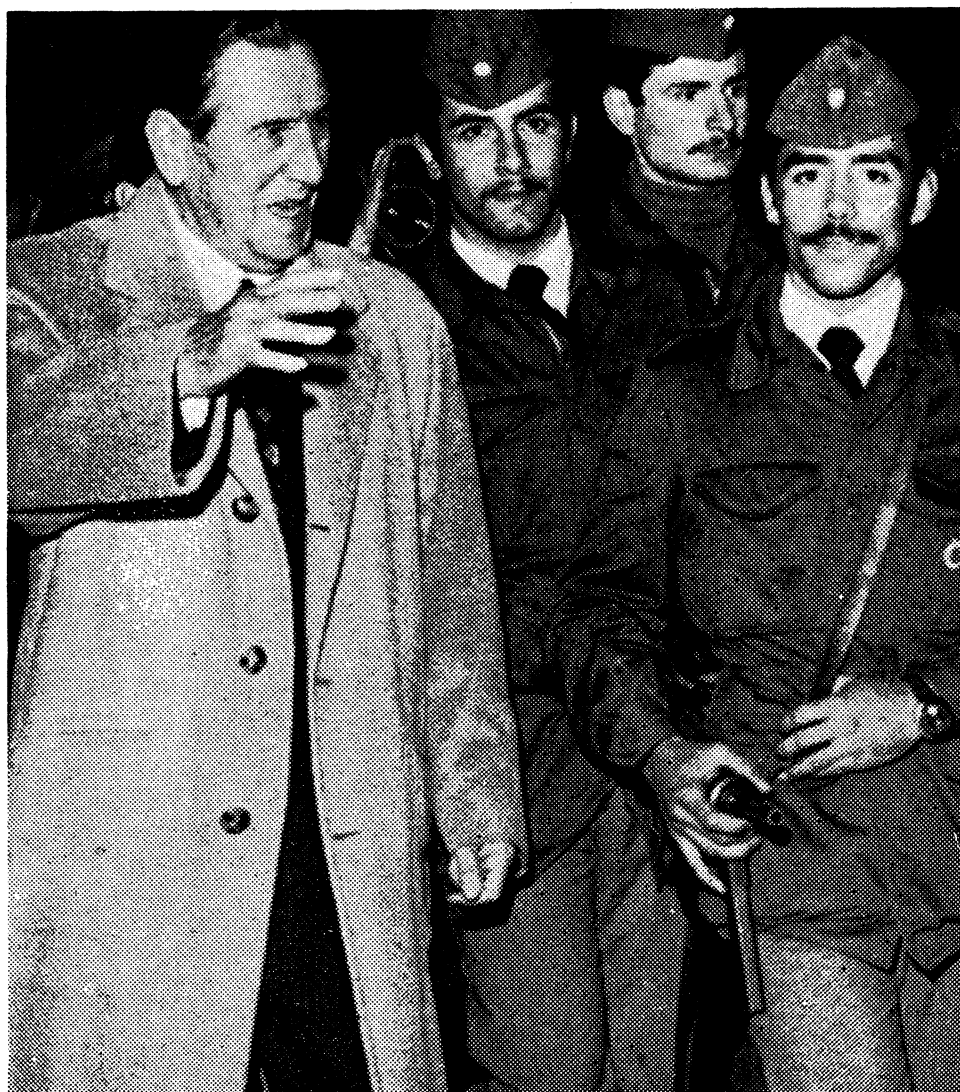
"The students had talked of occupying the university yesterday but when they read the text of Perón's tough crackdown . . . they restricted their protest to 'symbolic' takeovers at three faculties."

Perón unmistakably took the side of the trade-union bureaucracy that has been organizing the goon-squad attacks on the left.

"At a secret meeting held in the CGT [Confederación General de Trabajadores—General Confederation of Labor] he [Perón] told labor leaders that the trade unions 'are the backbone of the Peronist movement.' He promised them that he would visit them regularly once a week after he assumes the presidency on October 12.

"Perón's decision to tip the scales so decisively in favour of the right wing in the Peronist movement left the Peronist Youth Movement, which has repeatedly clashed with the CGT, in total disarray."

Perón's policy of basing his regime on the trade-union bureaucracy and labor gangsters is not new in Latin America, where native capitalism is weak. Bourgeois nationalists have generally been forced to base them-



Peron with guards. Argentine president has unleashed right-wing goons against working-class militants.

selves to some extent on working-class organizations so as to gain some leverage against imperialism as well as a mechanism of control reaching deeply into the masses.

In one case in particular, the development of a corrupt trade-union apparatus operating by gangster methods and incorporated into the state has assured a long period of stability for a national bourgeoisie with very limited reformist aims. Mexico is the outstanding success of the Latin American national bourgeoisies and it is apparently the model Perón intends to follow.

But this time, Perón seems to have staked the fate of his regime on a highly risky maneuver. A sudden collapse of the myth of the great anti-imperialist commander would remove the last big political barrier to a revolutionary development of the radicalization in Argentina. In particular, the grip of the Peronist bureaucracy on the unions has been slipping in the recent upsurge. And the traditionally rather democratic local unions—which a decade of military repression failed to smash—could easily handle rightist goon squads, if Perón lost his political influence over the workers.

But the left is also in a dangerous position. The still vastly popular caudillo is obviously moving very fast to crush the socialist movement as a "preventive" operation. Whether he can achieve this will depend on the ability of the revolutionists to maintain and expand their links with the masses and offer an attractive political alternative to Peronism.

So far, Perón has been able to exploit the actions of the guerrilla groups to cover the offensive of the right-wing goon squads and give force to his call for "national unity" and "peace" behind his leadership. The political confusion of the guerrilla groups that are the core and symbol of the Peronist left has been a major advantage. Repeating the standard Maoist phrases about power growing from the barrel of a gun, as well as vague anti-imperialist slogans, these groups have ended up in total political subordination to the great demagogue. A good illustration is one of the chants that was popular at Enrique Grinberg's funeral: "Con el fusil en la mano y Evita en la corazón. [With a Gun in Our Hands, and Evita in Our Hearts]."

On the other hand, the Communist party is following a policy that is the mere inverse of its opposition to the anti-imperialism of Perón's first government. Instead of offering a political alternative to the old caudillo, the CP is blaming the actions of his right-wing followers on a "CIA plot" (thus repeating the error of the left Peronists). It is echoing his calls for "national unity," and calling for a broader national coalition "because the 7,400,000 votes FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Liberation Front for Social Justice] received make a great reserve for the country, along with the other parties that also go to make up the anti-imperialist spectrum." (*La Opinión*, October 1.) Thus, at the very time Perón is launching an assault on the left, the CP seems to be calling on him to include it and its allies in the government.

The only political alternative that was offered to Peronism in the two national elections March 11 and September 23 was the "workers and socialist pole" of the PST. Support for the PST's calls for an independent workers revolutionary party should grow very rapidly as Perón abandons his revolutionary pretenses.

70,000 march in solidarity with Lip workers in France

By Del Rayson

BESANCON, France—Some 70,000 workers marched here Sept. 29 in a powerful demonstration of solidarity with the embattled workers of the Lip watch factory.

The Lip workers, now in their sixth month of struggle, are fighting for the human right to employment. They took over their factory last June and continued production under workers' control to prevent threatened shut-downs and mass layoffs.

The 1,300 workers, a majority of whom are women, were brutally expelled from the factory by the police in August and locked out. They had, however, removed their watchmaking tools and a stockpile of parts, and were thus able to continue production and sale of watches out of the gymnasium of a local school.

[The following message was sent to the Lip workers from the Socialist Workers Party convention last August.]

The Socialist Workers Party, assembled at its 25th national convention, sends warmest fraternal greetings and solidarity to the workers of the Lip watch factory.

The watches you have produced under workers control and management, without interference by the factory owners, are welcome and concrete proof that workers can do well without bosses.

We expect that workers in the United States, when faced with the alternatives you faced, will follow your example. They did this in the 1930s when they borrowed from French workers the tactic of the sit-down strike as a new weapon in the class struggle of that period.

The Lip workers called several weeks ago for a "March on Besançon" Sept. 29. They appealed for solidarity from the rest of the working class, pointing out that the Lip struggle was in the interests of all workers who face the dehumanizing conditions of employment and threat of unemployment.

The call found a ready response. It appeared in all the media and was reproduced in posters and leaflets in virtually every town and city in France.

At the assembly place on the eve of the march, the intensive preparation was evident: lighting; portable generators; drinking water; latrines; trash receptacles; areas for camping, for medical aid, for parking buses; and long rows of stands for trade unions, political parties, and left-wing journals.

Everything was anticipated, it seemed—except the rain. The next morning at 8 the first drops appeared. Gradually the rain became a sustained, chilling downpour. It turned the field into a muddy quagmire. The thoroughly dampened but not dispirited marchers huddled under any protection they could find.

It was under these conditions that this international gathering of class-conscious workers and students made its powerful statement of working-class solidarity.

The marchers came the three miles into the town of Besançon and through the centuries-old streets. It took them almost two hours to pass the point from which this reporter viewed the march. The local paper said the length of march extended two and a half miles, and estimated the size at about 70,000.

Scores and scores of worker delegations—with banners from the CGT and CFDT (the two largest trade-union federations in France) in every part of the country—dominated the first part of the march, followed by student groups from Paris, Grenoble, and many other cities and towns.

There were also small delegations from Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. This was despite the fact that the French government made a systematic attempt to hold up international workers' delegations at the French borders. Very heartwarming was a small contingent from Québec, declaring the solidarity of the Québécois workers with the Lip workers.

One prominent banner read, "Lip fights today for tomorrow's society." Other banners proclaimed solidarity with the Algerian and other immigrant workers.

It was well past mid-point in the march that the first disciplined party contingents appeared, with an abundance of red flags, singing the "Internationale." One of the largest and most impressive delegations strode under the banner of *Rouge*, formerly the weekly of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International that was banned by the French government.

In an attempt to limit the demonstration, the Socialist mayor of Besançon had issued daily warnings prior to Sept. 29 forecasting destruction to the city if the march were allowed. But there could not have been a more orderly and spirited march. The 15,000 or so police in the area kept themselves well-hidden. The only sign of repressive authority was two helicopters circling above the long line of marchers.

The incontestable success of the march was achieved in spite of oblique



Rouge/Lebrun
Sept. 29 march in Besançon, France.

but deliberate sabotage by the bureaucracies of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, CGT, and CFDT. For example, the bureaucrats tried to make it a regional rather than national event and to hold down the trade-union delegations to token size.

Nevertheless, the walls of the new headquarters of the Lip workers are covered with cables and messages of support from hundreds of trade-union locals around the country. The left-wing groups, which had been explicitly invited to participate in the march, had added to the walls huge posters of support.

There, next to the entrance, I found a heartwarming message from the U. S. Socialist Workers Party.

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Protests shake up white rulers

South African miners win promise of big wage gain

By Tony Thomas

New information has come out of South Africa on the struggle of Black miners at the Anglo American Corporation's Western Deep Levels gold mine. The Black miners' protests—which led to the murder of eleven workers by police last month—have won a promise of major wage increases for Anglo American's 120,000 African employees.

The struggle at the Western Deep Levels mine, which is in Carletonville, is part of a continuing upsurge of actions by Black workers and students in South Africa and Namibia.

The white South African government has found it increasingly difficult to

crush these struggles through outright repression. This is because of the growing power of Black workers in industry, more and more in skilled and semiskilled positions. Thus the government has been forced to grant some concessions.

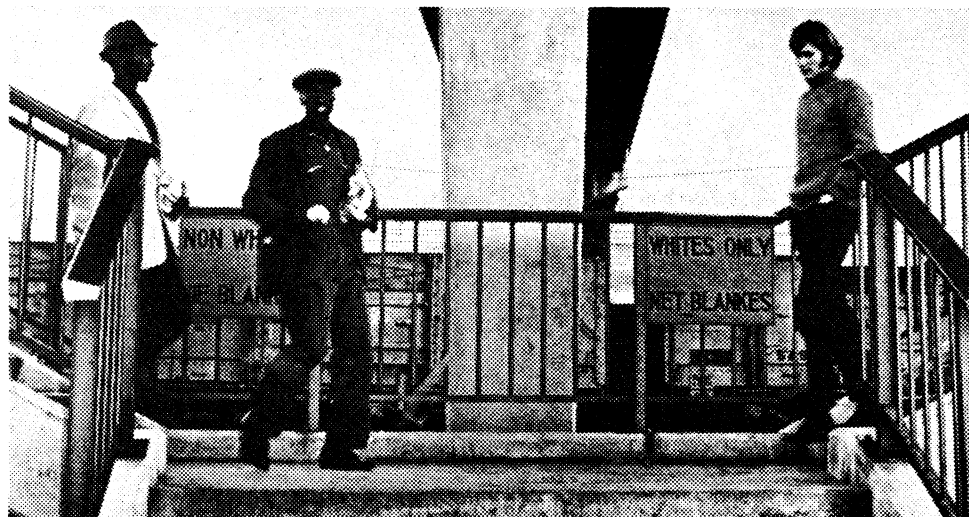
The Carletonville struggle was a result of demands by skilled pneumatic drillers in the two-mile-deep gold mine for raises proportional to those granted earlier to ore transporters.

The drillers had received a 46 percent raise, up to \$77.50 per month, according to the October 2 *New York Times*, while the less skilled haulers had received a 61 percent raise, to \$62. By comparison, white miners receive an average of more than \$500 per month.

On September 11, after a series of protests by the drillers, the *Times* reported, "The black drillers—or at least 200 to 300 of them—held a protest meeting and then attempted to stop night-shift workers, who load ore blasted on the day shift, from going to work."

"The police were not called until about 9 p.m.," said the *Times*. "After hurling tear gas and attempting a charge, they eventually opened fire, killing 11 blacks and wounding 16 more."

The miners had locked a steel door that gave access to the mine shaft. "When the police arrived," the *Times* reported, "a white mine official insisted on unlocking the gate and was menaced by a black wielding a knife, whereupon the police shot the black dead."



Wages of skilled Black South African miners were just raised to \$77 per month, while white workers earn more than \$500 per month.

According to the *Times's* source, the police fired "other shots when it appeared that the demonstrators were moving toward a gate leading to houses of white mine workers."

Anglo American Corporation and the South African police have banned reporters from talking to the mine workers, which suggests that the struggle continues and goes beyond the protest that led to the September 11 massacre. In an attempt to discredit the workers, South African officials have spread scare stories claiming that the Black miners had broken into liquor stores, desecrated churches, and gone "berserk" during the September 11 protests.

Another sign of the breadth of the struggle was the company's recent an-

nouncement of a second wage increase for Black workers before the end of the year. Company officials said the raise would be "much greater" than the increases granted last August before the protests.

The Carletonville massacre evoked widespread discussions in South Africa's ruling circles. Some have advocated the legalization of Black trade unions—under the thumb of the white unions, to be sure—as a way of bringing the Black worker militants into the open and controlling the struggles.

Meanwhile, white students at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University reportedly demonstrated September 12 at the Anglo American offices to protest the massacre. They carried placards condemning repressive labor conditions.

U.S. floods Saigon regime with military aid

From the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement January 28 until the end of July, the United States government supplied the Saigon air force with 142,000 bombs, rockets, and flares and 13.8 million rounds of small-arms ammunition, David K. Shieler reported from Saigon in an October 2 dispatch to the *New York Times*. The information was provided to Shieler by U. S. military officials.

The figures, Shieler noted, indicate a continuing high level of combat by the puppet regime:

"The ammunition was part of the 'one-for-one' replacement permitted under the Paris accord. The agreement allows each side to replenish war material that has been destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up. Officials estimate that the bulk of the replacement ammunition has been used in combat, indicating that the South Vietnamese Air Force has been more active than has been reported."

Additional quantities of ammunition have been provided to Thieu's navy, which received, Shieler wrote, some 8,200 rounds of ammunition during the six-month period.

"The largest quantity of ammunition has been delivered to the South Vietnamese Army since the cease-fire, but the army has refused to make public even the over-all dollar amount, arguing that such information could aid the enemy."

The replacement of ammunition represents only a small part of U. S. investment in the maintenance of its puppet dictator. Nixon has requested "aid" to South Vietnam of \$2,500 million during the current fiscal year. Of this, \$1,900 million is specifically earmarked for military uses. Moreover, ostensibly "humanitarian" programs are also used to support Thieu's military forces. In an analysis of the South Vietnamese economy in the August 19 *New York Times*, Shieler wrote that one-third of the funds of the Commercial Import Program and 80 percent of Food for Peace programs go to Saigon's army, navy, and air force. U. S. assistance for agricultural, health, and education programs totals 0.80 percent of U. S. "aid."

Two experts on South Vietnam, Don Luce and Fred Branfman, recently described for a U. S. congressional committee how Washington's aid is used by Thieu. They were particularly concerned with the plight of political prisoners and U. S. funding for Thieu's secret police.

In 1964, Luce said, Saigon had 10,000 members in its National Police. By 1973, thanks to U. S. "aid," the figure had grown to 120,000.

U. S. aid to the police was forbidden by the Paris cease-fire agreement, but is continuing under another name. The department previously known as

Public Safety is now called Public Works, Public Administration and Technical Support.

Nixon clearly intends to extend the same sort of system of control into the parts of Cambodia still under the rule of Lon Nol. His current budget already contains \$170 million for military aid to the puppet regime, and Lon Nol's minister of information has recently begun floating the suggestion that this figure should be increased by \$360 million a year to compensate for the fact that U. S. planes are no longer supposed to bomb in Cambodia.

As Nixon prepares to escalate the U. S. aggression, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has publicly complained that his forces are no longer receiving adequate aid from China or North Vietnam. Sihanouk's remarks were made in interviews in Algiers during the conference of "nonaligned countries."

Writing from Algiers in the October 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, T. D. Allman quoted Sihanouk as saying, "China remains faithful to us, but China is playing the big-power game with America now, and so cannot help as much as it would like."

Of the North Vietnamese government, Sihanouk said, "We thank them for training our troops. But we have had to do without their active support since June 1972. They are not

even helping us get supplies any more. They want us to negotiate with the Americans and Lon Nol—the same way they negotiated with Nixon and Thieu. . . .

"North Vietnam wants our victory to be deferred because the Vietnamese are afraid that a victory for us would bring American retaliation on them. Also, they want US aid for the reconstruction of their country."

"We signed a treaty with North Vietnam, with the Provisional Revolutionary Government and with the Pathet Lao in south China in 1970," Sihanouk added. "We pledged to fight together until the end, against US imperialism. I am wondering now, what was the value of that treaty? America keeps pouring arms into Phnom Penh, while North Vietnam does not aid us."

As a result, Sihanouk has revised his expectations: "Until recently, I thought we would have a quick victory. But without supplies, what can we do? North Vietnam has withdrawn its caches of arms from Cambodia to South Vietnam, so we no longer have access to them."

He summed up his fears of the results of the détente: "If Vietnam decides to let the present situation continue—to allow an American-backed regime to stay in Saigon—then our cause is lost."

Congress's 'home rule' bill is no step toward political power for D.C. Blacks

By CHUCK PETRIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—This city's residents, 71 percent of whom are Black, see nothing to cheer about in the drastically abridged version of "home rule" passed by the House of Representatives.

"It's a charade. It doesn't mean a thing," said one D.C. resident interviewed downtown.

Another said the bill, passed Oct. 10 after a flurry of closed-door compromises, is "too weak. Congress has given us a bone and we're supposed to be glad."

Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), chief architect of the bill, responded to charges that it was a sell-out by saying, "I am prepared to take my lumps from the home-rule self-determination purists who think anything short of statehood represents a deficient or imperfect product."

When Diggs, a prominent member of the Congressional Black Caucus, gained the chairmanship of the House District of Columbia Committee, many home-rule advocates thought they had won a victory.

But "purist" or not, one could hardly help noticing that Diggs's bill was gutted of any measures that would give D.C.'s Blacks their basic political rights.

Figureheads

According to the House bill, the 800,000 residents of the District would be allowed to elect a local mayor and city council, offices that are now filled by White House appointees. But these will still be powerless figureheads, because Congress and the White House will retain full ultimate control over all legislative, judicial, and budgetary matters.

House majority leader Thomas O'Neill (D-Mass.) declared his satisfaction with the bill, saying, "We in Congress will have ample powers to check any abuses, but we will not have to be involved in the day-to-day affairs of this city."

The Socialist Workers Party is running four candidates for D.C. school board: Erich Martel and Omari Musa, at large; Nan Bailey, Ward 2; and James Harris, Ward 3. They have made the demand for self-government for D.C. a major theme of their campaign.

"In contrast to the Democrats and Republicans," James Harris said, "we reject this bill as totally inadequate. We think it demonstrates the bankruptcy of political hucksters like Diggs and Fauntroy (nonvoting delegate from D.C.) who tell Black people to be patient while they lobby and maneuver inside the capitalist parties. That strategy is a dead end."

From the moment Diggs assumed chairmanship of the House committee, he assured his big-business backers that "practical tactics" would determine



DIGGS: Sellout is merely 'practical'



Demonstrators demand home rule for District of Columbia at Oct. 3 rally

the extent of any home-rule proposals.

Harris explained, "By 'practical tactics' Diggs means wheeling and dealing with his racist Dixiecrat and Republican colleagues, not mobilizing masses of Black people in D.C. to demand our rights."

Diggs's key giveaway from an earlier version of the bill was power over financial decisions. Local residents pay about 80 percent of the D.C. budget; 20 percent is provided by the federal government as a paltry compensation for the fact that federal property is tax-free. But Diggs agreed to a "compromise" by which Congress retains item-by-item control over the entire D.C. budget.

Another "compromise" is a 30-day waiting period from the time local legislation is passed to the time it takes effect. In this period Congress can review and veto anything it doesn't like.

The District will still have no voting representatives in either the House or Senate.

What lies behind Congress's intransigent refusal to grant elementary democratic rights?

The justification most commonly cited is the concept of Washington, D.C., as the "federal city."

"It does not belong to the District of Columbia Committee or to the people who happen to reside here," declared Congressman Delbert Latta (R-Ohio). "This city belongs to the people of the United States, and let's not forget it. It is the capital for all the people."

The SWP candidates maintain that the opposite is true. "Just like every other city in the U.S.," Nan Bailey said, "Washington now 'belongs' to no one but the tiny minority of corporate millionaires who run this country, and the defense of their profits and privileges is the first order of business on Capitol Hill."

Bailey continued, "The truth is that racist fears of giving the overwhelming Black majority in D.C. control over our own affairs is the prime motivation behind refusal to grant home rule."

The economic gap between this Black majority and the white minority is staggering. The median income of Black families is 40 percent less than that of whites. Unemployment in the Black community is three-and-a-half times higher than among whites.

While Blacks and other national minorities make up 28 percent of the work force in government service grades 1 to 4, the lowest-paid, they account for barely 5 percent of those in the middle and upper grades.

These facts give the lie to the arrogant blustering of congressmen like Earl Landgrebe (R-Ind.), who said, "I cannot for the life of me see any reason why we should at this time under the pressures of the proponents of the so-called home rule bills, whoever they are . . . turn the control of the city over to the local people who have chosen, chosen to come here to make the big money that people make working for this U.S. government."

More to the point was the specter raised by Congressman Steven Symms (R-Idaho):

"We live in an age of demonstrations and we can expect more, not fewer, demonstrations in this city in the years ahead. . . ."

"What would happen, Mr. Chairman, if there were a large demonstration in this city which effectively blocked the operations of the national government? Such an event nearly happened in 1971 [Mayday antiwar protests]. . . . Suppose, that the city council of Washington had control over the metropolitan police and suppose further that the local government was in sym-

pathy with a particular demonstration."

In deference to Symms's nightmare, which no doubt haunts his colleagues, Diggs's bill grants the president emergency powers over the D.C. police and prohibits local officials from altering the D.C. criminal code or interfering with the functions of the U.S. attorney or federal marshal.

Plenty of cops

With Congress controlling the purse strings, D.C. has the highest per capita expenditure on police of any city comparable in size in the country. At the same time, education and other social services get short shrift—71 percent of the District's schools are using makeshift facilities and substandard classrooms.

Such racist oppression has marked the dispute over D.C. home rule ever since the end of the Civil War, when thousands of freed slaves began to settle here.

A partially elected government was set up in 1871, but the city's white elite feared that the newly enfranchised Blacks would threaten their privileges and power. In 1874, Congress threw out the elected officials and substituted the system of presidential and congressional control that has continued to this day with only minor revisions.

The resurgence of the Black liberation struggle in the 1950s gave new impetus to demands for self-government, and some concessions have been won. In 1961 D.C. residents for the first time gained the right to vote in presidential elections; in 1967, the right to an elected school board; and in 1970, the right to elect a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

Full rights

The only proposal put forward so far that would provide equal rights for D.C. residents is statehood.

Omari Musa explained the SWP position: "In providing for a democratically elected local government, as well as voting representation in both the House and Senate, statehood is the fullest demand yet raised in the home-rule debate. It has become a yardstick against which all other proposals are measured."

"Statehood for the District of Columbia would not end racist oppression. Racist oppression is rooted in the capitalist system itself, and nothing short of a complete transformation of this society can eliminate it."

"But statehood would mark a big step forward for the Black community toward winning full control over the decisions and institutions that affect our lives. The prospects statehood would open up would give a powerful impulse toward independent Black political action."

After the House bill goes through a Senate-House conference committee and is signed by Nixon, it will be presented to D.C. residents for a referendum vote.

It will face strong opposition among those who view it as a capitulation to Congress. Some of the present school board members—the only elected body in D.C.—say they are considering campaigning against the bill.

Julius Hobson, Statehood Party leader and former school board member, has said, "my thoughts aren't fit to print. . . . They've made a joke of the rights of the people of the District of Columbia. I certainly will join the people who would oppose it in a referendum."

Interview with refugee from Chile

'The decisive confrontation was inevitable ...It was the bourgeoisie or the workers'

[The following interview was given by a refugee from Chile to a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press* September 30 in Buenos Aires.]

* * *

Question. What happened in your factory when the coup started?

Answer. I went to work on the day of the coup just like any other day. By about 9:00 in the morning, a comrade came around to tell us that the presidential palace had been surrounded by tanks again. This had happened before on June 29. So we all stopped work and went to listen to the radio to see what was happening. We heard Allende speaking.

The president told the people to resist and not to falter. But we didn't know what to do. We knew the coup was coming, but the leaderships of the political parties and even the leaderships of the cordones didn't have a line on how to fight it.

So the leaders of the union in our



Junta soldiers carry books to be burned

factory went out to make contact with the leaders of the cordón and the other plants. Then the interventor came. (He was an official sent in by the government to keep the factory running. There had been a big battle between the workers and the management and so the government sent him in as kind of an arbitrator.) He told us what the situation in the city was like. He said that a fight had started and that we should keep calm and wait to see what happened. We were to stay in the factory and fight if necessary. On the other hand, he said that the workers who wanted to go home could leave—especially the women.

So only the vanguard stayed, the ones who wanted to resist, who wanted to defend the factory. We organized a defense committee, a food committee, a medical committee, and so on. I organized the communications committee. Then I went into the city. I wanted to find someone with military experience because none of the workers had any and we had no way to fight.

But when I got to the city, a battle was going on. It would have been suicide to try to go on and risk getting caught in the cross fire between

the military and the snipers.

So I went back to the factory and stayed there. None of the comrades could contact any of the leaders of the cordones. So we were really without any direction, without any help. The only communication was with nearby factories.

By 3:00 in the afternoon, the military decreed a curfew. I discussed the situation with some of the comrades and we decided that I should leave because there was an air force base right near the factory and there was a danger of air-borne infantry coming in. We would not be able to resist because we did not have anything to resist with. I left because I was a foreigner and so it was dangerous for me to stay and dangerous for the comrades, too. There was no point in it.

The next day I went to the factory because I thought the curfew had been lifted. I found out that it hadn't when I got there and they told me.

About 280 people worked in the factory and there were about 30 on defense. It was a very weak defense; they were not armed.

Then they told me to go to a meeting in the factory across from ours. There were more people on defense there—about 80. The work force was normally about 260, more or less the same as in ours. But here the mood was more combative.

But in this factory the defenders were not armed either. It was a bottle-making plant, a place where they make glass.

They started to make Molotov cocktails with the bottles but not very many.

When we arrived at the meeting, some comrades from our party, the PSR [Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International] were leading it. They explained that the Cordón Vicuña Mackenna was fighting very hard against the military and that the Cordón Cerrillos should do the same thing but that it was totally disorganized. There was no leadership. So the workers had had to take it into their own hands to organize the cordón and factories for armed defense against the military.

At this very moment, the military burst in. They had been watching us from the air. They arrested all of us and took us to the air force base that was quite nearby.

About an hour later, we were all released because they had about eight different versions of the meeting. The military could not figure out what it was about, whether it was just a meeting to calm the people or what. We came to the conclusion that they were more lost than we were.

They were very worried by the armed defense at other factories that were already engaging in gun battles against the military. So we think they were much more interested in those factories that were already fighting against them than they were in us, who were just starting to organize.

I was kept there one day, since I didn't have any documents. During this time, I had a chance to see how they worked. I saw officers, soldiers, and medics. Some were very depressed by the outcome of the coup. They hoped that everything would go off very quickly and that there would be no resistance.

There were about 500 men at the



Santiago cemetery

base. They left very often in trucks to fight against two shantytowns opposite the base. In one, called La Legua, there were very combative people. This shantytown put up a hard fight; they had some weapons that they had received from the government.

From the base I was able to see the fight in La Legua. I could see that many, many people were being killed, including soldiers themselves. The military had helicopters with .50-caliber machine guns and they could just gun the people down from the air. But even so the people in this shantytown fought the military for three days. I would say they fought very hard and that many soldiers were killed, too.

In La Legua, I was told, they had some way to make "Miguelitos," that is, nails made to puncture tires. So they stopped one or two police vans and killed about 160 cops. The people of this shantytown were mostly what is called marginal, largely unemployed. It was not a proletarian neighborhood.

When I left the base, I didn't go back to the factory because there were a lot of troops surrounding it.

Q. What information do you have about other areas?

A. The Cordón Vicuña Mackenna was the best organized before the coup. Many factories, I would say eight or ten, fought very long and very hard. This cost the lives of many, many people. At one factory, for example, the workers put up a hard fight, but when they saw the soldiers surround the plant and realized they could not hold out, they surrendered and turned over their guns. The military shot them down on the spot, in view of another factory that was about to surrender. But when the workers there saw this, they started fighting again.

The Sumar factory had gotten some guns from the government, and it also put up a hard fight. All the people there were killed. In general, in all the factories where there was resistance, everybody was killed. They were executed right on the spot. At Sumar, a synthetic fibers plant, there was an explosion. This factory wrote a heroic page in history and a sad one, too, because all the workers are now dead.

Q. You said that the CUT did not issue any statements or instructions after the coup. Did it issue any statements at all?

A. Not after the coup. Before, they called on the workers to resist in the factories. And I would say that they share the responsibility for the extermination of the vanguard that was concentrated in the plants. Everybody knew a coup was coming, and we didn't think it was a good idea to try to put up a fight there because we knew that if the military came in they would kill everybody. The workers would be trapped like rats because they had nowhere to run. But the CUT said to resist in the factories and so the vanguard is now dead.

Q. How are the cordones organized and what has happened to them since the coup?

A. The cordones were set up to provide a centralized leadership for groups of factories. They were to coordinate work in the factories and give special help to those that had trouble or went on strike. Another objective was to help organize the distribution of supplies.

Generally, the cordones were led by the Socialist party. They were run in a bureaucratic way and the masses of the workers were not involved.

We tried to promote participation by the rank and file. We thought it was vital for them to feel that they

Continued on page 22

Tragedy in Chile

In response to the recent events in Chile, Pathfinder Press has published a new pamphlet, *Tragedy in Chile: Lessons of the Revolutionary Upsurge and Its Defeat* (35 cents) by Gerry Foley and Malik Miah. Foley traces the history of the Popular Unity government; documents the extent of the repression, urging a vigorous worldwide campaign in defense of the victims; and points to the complicity of the U.S. in the coup. Miah explains why the Popular Unity government's strategy of collaboration with capitalist parties resulted in a tragic defeat for the working class.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

1,300 at NYC rally demand justice for victims of brutal terror in Chile

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK — Thirteen hundred people gathered at Columbia University Oct. 12 to express solidarity with the thousands of political prisoners who have been tortured and murdered by the Chilean junta since the Sept. 11 coup. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) organized the meeting.

The size and enthusiasm of the gathering demonstrated the potential that exists in this country for mobilizing public opinion against the bloody repression in Chile and U.S. complicity with the junta's actions.

It was clear that the massacres of workers and dragnet arrests in Chile had deeply moved those who came to the rally. Writer Annette T. Rubenstein was warmly received when she denounced a front-page *New York Times* article that had minimized the repression in Chile. The *Times* headlined the article "The Toll in Chile May Now Be 2,000 . . . No Massacres but Many Senseless Killings."

Message from Hugo Blanco

The following telegram was sent to the USLA protest rally in New York from Hugo Blanco, Peruvian Trotskyist leader:

We send greetings to our friends in the United States, to all those Americans who are struggling against the repression in Chile. At this time we believe that what is fundamental in Chile is the preservation of its groups, the preservation of its revolutionary elements.

What must be done is to safeguard the life and security of the Chilean people in general and of its revolutionaries specifically. This work is urgent; it is not only a humanitarian task of a defense of human rights and the right of asylum and of individual guarantees of Chileans, as well as foreigners, but it is also a revolutionary task of continental and international dimensions.

The best of the Latin American vanguard is at this moment in Chile. A struggle at the international level is necessary to save them.

"These killings are not senseless," Rubenstein said. "These killings are part of the repression and terror which is meant to silence the voice of the people of Chile."

While defense of the junta's victims was the central theme of the rally, speakers expressed a wide range of views on the lessons that can be drawn from the Chilean experience.

Black attorney Conrad Lynn and United Farm Workers Vice-President Dolores Huerta both pointed to the serious defeat for the left that the coup represents. Lynn called it a "tragedy," likening it to "the crushing of the Spanish loyalists in the 1930s."

Huerta told the audience she grieved "for all the Latinos slain in Chile." She said the coup "is such a terrible, horrible thing that it is almost hard to speak about."

Four speakers at the meeting gave eyewitness reports of the coup and its aftermath. Edward Boorstein, an assistant to Salvador Allende's economic adviser, described the economic strangulation of the Chilean economy by U.S. corporations. Other eyewitness accounts came from Mark Cooper, Allende's personal translator, and Adam Schesch and Patricia Garrett, who were imprisoned for a week in Santiago's National Stadium.

Garrett stressed the importance of a broad defense effort on behalf of the political prisoners who remain in Chile. "There are many people of widely different persuasions who are very concerned about this problem," she said.

Several speakers emphasized the effectiveness of visible protest actions. Judith Malina, a member of the USLA Executive Committee, told how protests had helped free her when she was imprisoned by the Brazilian dictatorship for her activities as a member of the Living Theater.

"I know that the day after [our arrest] there was a picket line set up outside the Brazilian airline," she said. "The leaflet talking about torture in Brazil was shown to us in interrogation in the interior of Brazil one day after that leaflet was handed out in San Francisco. . . . that communication was very clear."

Dr. Benjamin Spock reminded the audience of the important role played by demonstrations in the fight against



Militant/Michael Baumann

New York protest rally sponsored by United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

the war in Vietnam. "My own feeling is that every postcard . . . every individual who ever went to a demonstration did good," Spock said. "It turns out from the Watergate revelations that [the White House] was constantly fuming, uneasy, angry, because of opposition to the war."

International solidarity with the meeting was expressed through telegrams read by the meeting's chairman, Corliss Lamont. The telegrams were sent by prominent political and cultural figures in Latin America.

A message from Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader and a leader of the world Trotskyist movement, called the defense of political prisoners in Chile "a revolutionary task of continental and international dimensions." Blanco himself had just escaped from Chile and has been granted asylum in Sweden (see box on this page).

Telegrams were also sent from the Political Commission of the Union of Professors of the National University of Mexico; Francisco Juliao, a Brazilian peasant leader now in exile; José Revueltas, Mexican author and former political prisoner; Fernando Benítez, Mexican writer; Congress woman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); and others.

Rally participants demonstrated their eagerness to aid USLA's efforts by donating more than \$3,200 during the collection. These funds will help the defense committee's campaign to publicize the plight of prominent

individuals whose lives are in danger in Chile. The committee also plans to send speakers on tour and to continue to get the truth out through sales of its magazine, the *USLA Reporter*.

The rally closed with the unanimous adoption of a resolution to be sent to the junta in Chile. The resolution demanded "an immediate end to the mass arrests, torture, summary executions, and the banning of political and trade-union organizations."

USLA needs contributions and volunteers to continue the campaign in defense of political prisoners in Chile. To help out, contact the committee at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.



Militant/Michael Baumann

HUERTA: Expressed solidarity with those slain by the junta.

Protests denounce Chilean junta's whitewash

International protests against the repression in Chile continue, demonstrating the failure of the junta's attempt to whitewash its executions, arrests, and tortures since the September coup.

" . . . we have not seen in recent years a situation so grave as that in



Militant/Steven Fuchs

CARMICHAEL: A featured speaker at Chile teach-in in Austin.

Chile, not even Brazil or Greece," reported Joë Nordmann, secretary general of the International Association of Democratic Jurists.

Nordmann is part of a commission composed of internationally known human rights organizations that went to Chile to investigate the repressive measures of the military regime.

Also participating in the commission are Michel Blum, secretary general of the International Federation of Human Rights, and Leopoldo Torres Boursault, secretary general of the International Movement of Catholic Jurists.

After interviewing eyewitnesses to executions, torture victims, and Chilean officials, the commission declared, "We have verified that international press reports on the violations of human rights since the coup d'état are not exaggerated as the government claims, but well-founded."

Campus teach-ins and demonstrations against the coup in Chile and in support of political prisoners also continue across the U.S. Eight hun-

dred students turned out at the University of Texas at Austin Oct. 11 to hear Stokely Carmichael, former leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and Mark Cooper, personal translator for Salvador Allende.

Several hundred people, including many Latinos, demonstrated at the federal building in Chicago Oct. 13 in an action called by the Coalition in Support of Chilean People. Groups participating in the protest included USLA, the United Farm Workers Union, Chicago Area Group on Latin America, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and New World Resources Center.

A teach-in on Chile was held at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia Oct. 10, attended by nearly 200 people. Speakers included Professor James Cockcroft of Rutgers University; James Ritter, who was a professor at the University of Chile at the time of the coup; Walter Brod, USLA; Harvey McArthur, SWP candidate for city controller; and Mike Maggio,

Young Workers Liberation League.

In New York, a group of U.S. and Latin American artists has announced plans to recreate a Chilean mural destroyed during the coup. The act is a gesture of solidarity with Chilean colleagues whose work is being burned and banned by the junta. After the mural is painted, the panels will be taken to the Chilean consulate.

Help sell the emergency issue of the *USLA Reporter*, publication of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

This special issue features eyewitness accounts of the repression in Chile and proposals for what can be done in this country.

The *USLA Reporters* are 15 cents each or 100 for \$8. To order contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

Detroit teachers still out despite settlement



Michigan AFL-CIO News
Detroit teachers voted to defy back-to-work order at this Oct. 4 rally.

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, Oct. 16—The Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) voted yesterday by 4,881 to 3,287 to settle its six-week strike.

But today classrooms remained empty, and picket lines were up as usual.

When the board of education refused to drop its claims to more than \$1.4-million in damages, the DFT decided to continue the strike until the board drops its punitive claims.

The claim for damages was based on the DFT's refusal to heed a court injunction issued several weeks ago ordering teachers back to work.

Widespread dissatisfaction with the poor settlement was shown by the 40 percent negative vote. Not one of the basic demands of the union was won—only secondary issues were agreed on in the one-year contract.

The teachers' demands for a 9.7

percent wage boost and maximum class size of 35 now go to binding arbitration. The demand for a cost-of-living escalator clause was dropped by the union leadership.

The board backed down partially on only one issue—its demand for an "accountability," or merit pay, plan. Both sides agreed to submit this question to a special committee to be appointed by Michigan Governor William Milliken. This committee can only make nonbinding recommendations.

The DFT executive board split 8 to 8 on the proposed settlement, with union President Mary Ellen Riordan casting the decisive vote for binding arbitration.

It was mostly younger executive board members and teachers who opposed the settlement. They called the pact "ridiculous" and pointed to the antiunion role of arbitrators.

Riordan claimed binding arbitration was necessary since the board was adamant. "We won't get one thing more if we stay out 'til doomsday," she said.

Riordan also alluded to mounting community pressure to open the schools. But instead of proposing an all-out drive to win community support for the teachers, she saw this as a reason to give in to the board of education.

The Michigan AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers union had called for a rally to support the teachers on Oct. 11. Neither, however, turned out its own ranks. The 3,000 to 4,000 present were overwhelmingly teachers, including some from other school systems.

At the Oct. 11 rally, when Riordan referred to the possibility of binding arbitration, the teachers booed her and shouted "No!"

Inquiry exposes CIA police terror school

By CINDY JAQUITH

The movie *State of Siege* contains grisly scenes of CIA-financed schools in the U.S. where Latin American political police learn bomb making, assassination methods, and the latest torture techniques. An investigation by Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.) has now established that these terror schools exist in real life.

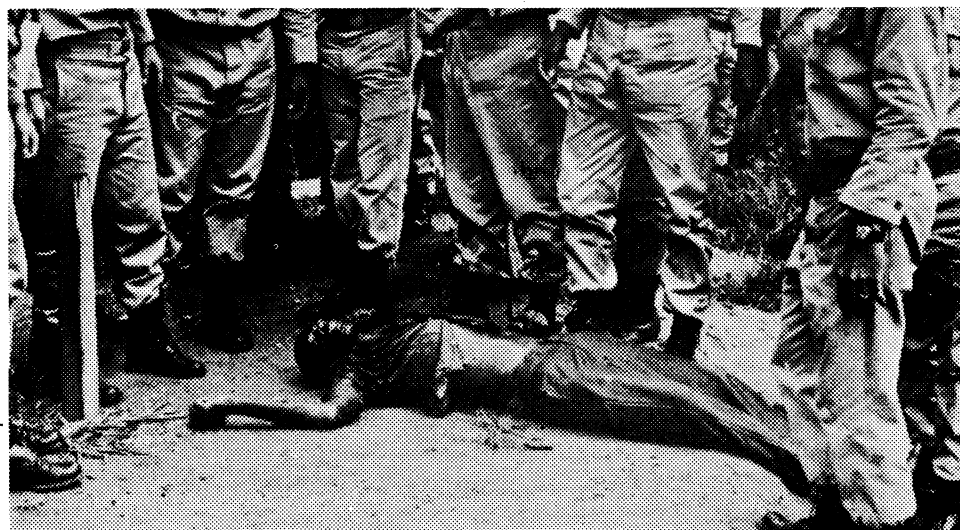
One such school is operated by the Agency for International Development (AID) in Los Fresnos, Texas, at the Border Patrol Academy. According to syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, Abourezk has forced one AID official to admit that the "students" at this school are being trained in how to make booby traps, bombs, and other terrorist devices. The CIA agreed to teach the courses after the Defense Department refused the assignment.

Most of the 165 cops trained at this school are from military dictatorships heavily backed by the U.S.—including Brazil, Guatemala, Panama, El Salvador, Uruguay, and Thailand. The funds for this operation are frequently channeled through the innocuous-sounding Office of Public Safety (OPS).

In the 1974 U.S. military budget,

OPS is scheduled to get \$7.5-million for its dirty work. This amount does not include the \$22-million that will go exclusively to police and prison activities in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, Abourezk reports. (An amendment to the military budget to end U.S. financing of secret-police departments in other countries was defeated earlier this month.)

More than 70 countries in all receive U.S. aid to bolster their repressive and "intelligence" apparatuses.



Brazilian military police at work. Were they trained in the U.S.?

Some of the money goes to buy weapons, such as the 20,000 hand grenades and 800,000 rounds of ammunition shipped to the Brazilian national police since 1959. The Guatemalan police received 3,000 tear gas grenades, 250 gas masks, and 40,000 shotgun shields in 1970 alone from OPS.

"I can see no other purpose in such programs than to help consolidate the power of dictators and squash their opposition," Abourezk said.

There is also evidence that American agents are members of the torture squads used in countries such as Brazil, Bolivia—and now Chile—to terrorize political prisoners and extract "confessions." Abourezk recently read in Congress a letter from a constituent who had been to Bolivia and talked with torture victims. The letter said in part:

"At least one of the torturers told one of our friends that he learned his techniques in a special American school in the Canal Zone. An American missionary friend who was tortured for four days before his release, insists that at least one American was involved in the torture squad."

While most AID officials deny such reports of torture activities, assassinations, and other attacks on left groups and trade unions in Latin America or elsewhere, some agents boast of their accomplishments. Byron Engle, the former director of OPS, for example, said of U.S.-trained police during the uprising in the Dominican Republic in 1965:

"Police action . . . was so effective that the insurgents did not even end up with the body of a dead comrade to drag through the city in false martyrdom."

SWP's Watergate suit wins labor support

"We in the labor movement have special reasons for concern about Watergate and its meaning. The same bugging and harassment tactics have been used in the past against working people and union organizations.

"The lawsuit filed by Leonard Boudin . . . on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance can play an important role in the defense of civil liberties in the United States."

With this resolution, the California State Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535, AFL-CIO, voted support to the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the civil liberties group publicizing the socialists' suit against illegal government Watergate-style harassment.

The SWP and YSA are suing Richard Nixon and other present and past government officials in an effort to stop such illegal harassment as wiretapping, mail tampering, bombing, and burglary. The plaintiffs also ask that the attorney general's "subversive" list be ruled unconstitutional.

The Detroit Welfare Workers Union and the Wayne State University (De-

troit) Local 1497 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) have also endorsed the suit. Both unions invited PRDF representatives to explain the case at their membership meetings. The AFSCME local donated \$25.

PRDF has recently sent a special letter to trade unions and union officials across the country asking for their support. Recent endorsers from the labor movement include Richard Longoria, director, Colorado United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; Jim Besson, director Boston United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; and Paula Reimers, vice-president, Detroit Local 2000, American Federation of Teachers.

As part of the nationwide drive in support of the SWP suit, PRDF representatives also secured resolutions of support from the Wayne State University Student-Faculty Council and the Marshall University student government in Huntington, W. Va. The Marshall students contributed \$20 to the defense fund.

At the University of Houston, PRDF National Field Secretary Michael Ar-

nell, currently on a speaking tour in Texas, held a well-attended news conference following Spiro Agnew's resignation. Arnall called it "the latest shock wave in the Watergate revelations." He explained that "one of the aims of our suit is to uncover still-secret government documents which will certainly implicate other government officials."

During Arnall's visit to Houston reports of his tour were carried by both daily newspapers, the *Post and Chronicle*, the *University of Houston Cougar*; two major TV stations; and four radio stations.

Both Arnall and Syd Stapleton, the PRDF national secretary on tour on the West Coast, are also raising funds for the defense effort. Prominent PRDF endorsers have sent out an appeal for contributions to meet the estimated \$40,000 in legal and publicity expenses this year.

Signers of the appeal are Philip Berrigan, Reverend Dan Berrigan, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, *New York Times Review of Books* editor John Leonard, former senator Eugene McCarthy, playwright Arthur Miller, Dr. Benjamin Spock and *Ms.* editor

Gloria Steinem.

PRDF supporters are also raising money by selling the new Watergate button designed for the committee by Jules Feiffer. Detroit PRDF activists sold \$70 worth of buttons at a recent meeting for Senator George McGovern.

To contribute to PRDF, to arrange for a speaker, or to order the Feiffer button, send in the coupon below.

Clip and send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.

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If you like Nixon, you'll love Ford

By BAXTER SMITH

The nomination of Gerald R. Ford to succeed Spiro Agnew as vice-president has been hailed by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Even many liberals applauded the choice. Senator Edward Kennedy said that Ford has had "an outstanding career." Senator Edmund Muskie, who Ford attacked before a meeting of Zionist leaders in 1971 for being "soft" toward Arab interests, said Ford was "a choice I can support without reservation."

Ford's nomination caught many by surprise. Bourgeois news analysts called him a "little-known man." The *New York Times* editors were more accurate though when on Oct. 14 they described him as a "supremely loyal rounder-up of Republican votes for Administration measures."

Gerald Rudolph Ford has long been a close friend of Nixon, supporter of his politics, and barometer of the administration in the House. The night of his selection, he told a *Time* magazine correspondent, "The President and I always have had a high identity philosophically."

Racist, antilabor, and for the Vietnam war, Zionism, and big business, Jerry—as he's better known to congressional chums—is the logical choice for the spot.

A taste for corruption?

Research shows that Ford has drunk from the cup of corruption. Unlike his new boss, though, his cup hasn't yet runneth over.

Ford is linked to the ITT scandal. ITT President Harold Geneen revealed he met with Ford in March 1972 to discuss the "serious consequences" of the Justice Department's pursuit of antitrust violations. Geneen asked Ford to use some influence.

Ford, long a prominent Republican organizer and spokesman, at the time of his meeting with Geneen was in line for the post of chairman of the Republican national convention (he got the job). ITT had pledged to help finance the convention in return for a "favorable settlement" of three antitrust suits against it.

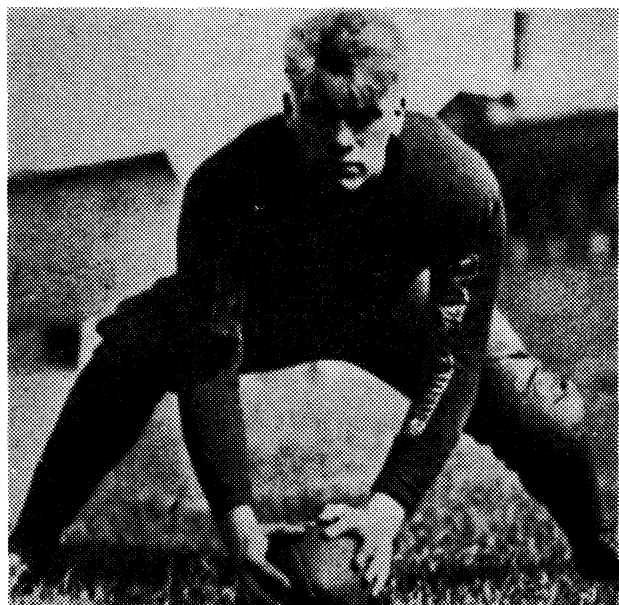
Like Nixon, Ford has been quiet about reporting some of his campaign funding. For example, he "forgot" to tell of \$11,500 in contributions from oil interests, bankers, and stock brokers to his 1970 reelection campaign.

It was also revealed that in 1968 Ford was instrumental in getting a job at the Treasury Department for G. Gordon Liddy, Watergate burglar. At the time, Liddy was figuring to unseat Representative Hamilton Fish (R-N.Y.). Ford helped in getting Liddy "promoted to Washington" as a favor for Fish in the interest of "party unity."

Anti-Black

Ford has long been a vocal and active opponent of the needs of Blacks. He voted against the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which eventually allowed the massive registration of Black voters in the South, many for the first time. Since then he has supported numerous amendments to undercut this law.

In January 1972 he lent support to a constitutional amendment to prohibit all school busing. He brought the amendment to the House floor with the familiar racist justification, "There should be no forced busing of school children great distances from their homes to achieve racial balance." Ford was speaking on behalf of the administration as well as racist opponents of busing in his home



Ford, once a star center for the University of Michigan, replaces Agnew, who has been kicked off the squad.

WHEN WILL THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE BE RESTORED?



Vice-presidential nominee Ford with the late Senator Everett Dirksen. 'Trust and confidence' is more of a problem than ever for the White House.

state of Michigan. At that time, several court cases had ordered busing in some Michigan communities, including Detroit.

In March 1972, Ford voted for the Omnibus Education Amendment which barred the use of federal funds for busing or federal pressure for use of state or local funds for busing.

A year earlier he stirred attention when he got into a rhubarb with William Clay, the Black representative from Missouri. He attacked Clay, who had called Agnew "seriously ill" and "an intellectual sadist" for slandering Black leaders. Ford stated he "never heard such language in the House" and demanded an apology. Clay replied, "Gerald Ford suffers from the same illness Agnew suffers from."

Prowar and for detente

Ford is a strong supporter of the Nixon administration's policy in Southeast Asia, often dubbing antiwar House Democrats "unilateral disarmers."

Prior to the Vietnam "peace" accords, Ford consistently opposed congressional legislation to bypass the administration and end the war. With the announcement of the accords though, Ford stated that this "peace" was "due solely to one man—the resolute man who is Richard Nixon, the man with the courage to do what was necessary and right."

Although he supported a Nixon-engineered "peace" in Vietnam, he opposed a bill in June to cut off funding for the bombing of Cambodia. The measure, which had come from the Senate, drew a caustic response from Ford. Nixon said he would veto any bill requiring a cut-off before Aug. 15. Ford told the House the Senate had been wrong in its antiwar votes in the past. He declared, "I'm not going to succumb at the last minute to people who have been wrong all the time."

Ford has been an ardent cold warrior. But when the signal was given that Nixon favored détente, Ford was right on the heels of his master. Of Nixon's trip to China, he said, it "will be singularly significant in the pursuit of world peace."

Following Nixon's invitation, Ford got into a spate of public backbiting with some Senate leaders. It seems they were invited to Peking and Ford wasn't, and his feelings were hurt. But Peking, in a friendly gesture, later invited Jerry too.

Détente or no détente, however, Ford has long been a prime mover of administration-backed war appropriations bills as well as aid to reactionary regimes and military dictatorships. In June 1972, at Nixon's request, he sponsored legislation in the House for \$11-billion to be spent over the next five years to modernize the arms program and develop a supersonic bomber.

While wanting billions to be spent on war matériel, Ford has generally opposed social welfare legislation and bills to benefit the working masses,

terming them "inflationary."

Most recently he led the House opposition to the minimum wage bill. In April he opposed a House stopgap measure against inflation to temporarily roll back prices, rents, and some interest rates as "unrealistic."

Ford, of course, loyally supported all wage control measures. At the beginning of Phase 3, he congratulated Nixon, calling his "timing excellent, given the progress we have made thus far in achieving economic stability. . . ."

Ford has vigorously opposed any legislation that would limit or control corporate interests. In 1972 he opposed a much-needed amendment to the Water Pollution Control Act to provide \$24-billion to clean up the nation's waters and require tight industrial controls on pollution. Last July he opposed a \$20,000 ceiling on government subsidies to big farmers as "academic."

In addition, Ford has been a supporter of witch-hunting and police-repression legislation since coming into office. In March 1972 he voted for continued funding of the House Internal Security Committee. In May 1972 he supported a bill to expand the powers and duties of the Subversive Activities Control Board. This year he voted to boost federal spending for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. And in 1970 Ford led a movement to impeach Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

Although a newcomer to the team, Ford's record shows he's not entering like a typical first-year rookie. Now a big-league player, Gerald R. Ford will be a faithful lapdog and guardian of capitalist interests at home and abroad.

A real labor hater

Gerald R. Ford's antilabor record speaks for itself:

- In February 1972 he voted to break the West Coast dock strike.
- He voted to reject a \$4-billion two-year funding of OEO programs in 1972.
- He opposed a bill that would have significantly boosted federal funding of health-care insurance premiums for federal employees, including postal workers.
- He opposed a bill to authorize \$3-million to the District of Columbia transit system to avoid a fare increase.
- He opposed an amendment on an HEW bill to provide \$15-million for bilingual education programs.
- He supported Nixon's veto of the bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 that would have provided a temporary 20 percent increase in retirement benefits to railroad workers.

Texas Raza Unida Party looks toward 1974 state elections

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HARLINGEN, Texas—Nearly 200 Raza Unida Party activists and organizers discussed gearing up for the 1974 state elections at a weekend conference here, which ended Oct. 7.

Most of those present were from 25 counties in south and central Texas.

No decision on selection of candidates was made. The Chicano party received about 6 percent of the vote in the 1972 race for governor, earning it an automatic slot on the 1974 ballot and the right to hold a primary as a method of choosing candidates. The party's state executive committee must decide by Nov. 5 whether the party will select its candidates by primary or at the state convention scheduled for Dec. 25-31.

Among those attending the meeting here were Raza Unida elected public officials from a number of South Texas counties and small towns.

Local reports were given on party activity. One speaker from Cameron County spoke about the fraudulent character of "nonpartisan" elections. Such elections, where candidates' names appear on the ballot without party designation, provide a cover for Chicano democrats to hide their party affiliation.

State Chairman Mario Compean

told *The Militant* that this gathering represented a strengthening of the party. At a similar meeting two years ago prior to the 1972 campaign, the local party activists were unsure of their ability to build the party statewide, according to Compean. In contrast, he felt party members now were more committed to the party and at the same time confident of their ability to run a campaign on both the statewide and local level.

"This meeting informally signifies the

beginning of the '74 campaign," said Compean, "and it will let the party members around the state know that we are ready to go."

Although 1972 gubernatorial candidate Ramsey Muñiz has not formally announced his intentions to run next year, many party activists appear to assume that he will run again. Both Muñiz and party leader José Angel Gutiérrez were sporting "Muñiz for Governor" buttons left over from the last campaign.



'This meeting informally signifies the beginning of the '74 campaign'

Teamster officials renege on pledge to UFW

By HARRY RING

OCT. 16—A top Teamster official confirmed today that his union is holding up the signing of the peace accord agreed to Sept. 28 with the United Farm Workers Union.

Meanwhile, the UFW said its boycott drive was being expanded.

Weldon Mathis, executive assistant to Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, told the *Los Angeles Times* they were delaying the signing of the agreement because it "could leave us open to millions of dollars worth of damage suits" from the growers.

At negotiating sessions with the UFW and AFL-CIO officials, the Teamsters reportedly agreed to renounce the sweetheart contracts they had signed with table-grape growers in the San Joaquin and Coachella Valleys. They also agreed to renounce some of their phony contracts with lettuce growers.

All these Teamster sweetheart pacts were signed behind the backs of the workers in collusion with the growers. They were designed to prevent the negotiation of legitimate contracts with the UFW.

Repudiation of the sweetheart agreements would greatly facilitate the UFW's fight to bring the growers to terms.

The Teamsters said they consulted with their lawyers only after making the agreement with the UFW and AFL-CIO. It is a matter for conjecture whether there is substance to their claimed legal concerns, or if this is simply an alibi for backing out of the agreement.

There are unconfirmed reports that Fitzsimmons is having second thoughts about the pact because he fears James Hoffa, his principal rival in the union, might exploit a settlement in internal union politics.

Whether that is the case or not, it is unlikely that the growers have any substantial legal case in seeking enforcement of contracts that are products of an illegal conspiracy.

In attempting to explain their failure to sign the agreement with the UFW, the Teamsters indicated that they expect further negotiating sessions to be held soon.

AFL-CIO President George Meany said in Miami yesterday that while an agreement had been reached Sept. 28, since then "we have had no contact from the Teamsters, so I do not know if they will consummate the agreement."

Meanwhile, José Gómez, an administrative official of the United Farm Workers, told *The Militant* that the union now has nearly a thousand people building the boycott movement in more than 40 cities. He said there had previously been more than 300 people working on the grape and lettuce boycott, and that in the past weeks well over 500 striking farm workers had gone out across the country to join them.

"The boycott is becoming stronger and more intense every day," Gómez said. "We've declared no kind of moratorium or cease-fire on the boycott."

The case of Jose Calderon

La Raza Unida vs Henry B. Gonzales

By SKIP BALL

In the early spring of 1970 the University of Colorado in Boulder sent out a press release applauding the election of José Calderon as student body vice-president. Calderon was, for the university, a "model," a proof that Chicanos could "make it."

Calderon, now an activist in Greeley, Colo., and state cochairman of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, faces the threat of conviction on several misdemeanor charges brought by that same university, as well as the threat of deportation and the loss of a teaching job.

The charges against Calderon stem from an incident on Aug. 8 at the university. At that time a scheduled talk by Mexican-American Congressman Henry Gonzales (D-Texas) was disrupted by young Chicanos angered by Gonzales's provocative attacks on the Chicano movement.

Although no arrests were made during the disruption of Gonzales's speech, university officials later brought charges against both Calderon and Jess Vigil. Vigil is an activist in the UC chapter of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) and student body co-president.

It has become clear that the university filed its criminal charges against Calderon and Vigil not because they were leaders of the disruption, but because they are leaders of the Chicano movement. In a speech to the summer graduating class, UC President Frederick Thieme called the Aug. 8 incident a violation "of academic freedom" by "neanderthal grunts of Chicano power."

The case against Calderon is based on a brief speech he gave during the occupation of the stage and his presence at an afternoon meeting arranged

by university officials between Gonzales and UMAS members before Gonzales's scheduled evening talk.

According to an account of the afternoon meeting that appeared in the UC UMAS biweekly paper *El Diario*, the



Colorado Raza Unida Party leader Jose Calderon faces charges stemming from campus meeting with Congressman Henry B. Gonzales.

students wanted Gonzales to change the topic of his scheduled talk to deal with questions raised about his support for the Rodino bill and his refusal to take a stand on other issues of importance to Chicano activists.

The Rodino bill, approved by the House and pending in the Senate, would facilitate the deportation of Mexicans and Chicanos without proof of U. S. citizenship.

Calderon, who was at the afternoon meeting at the invitation of UMAS

leader José Ortega, tried to express criticisms of Gonzales's political views that were made by the Raza Unida Party of Colorado. Calderon, however, was unable to complete his remarks, because Gonzales continually interrupted him.

The *El Diario* account of the exchange between Calderon and Gonzales documented the many insults made by the Texas Democrat to those present and showed how Gonzales's remarks echoed the racist slurs Chicanos have been subjected to "throughout our years in the American school system."

Jess Vigil was recently cleared by a university disciplinary committee of the charges brought against him by the university. Vigil still faces criminal misdemeanor charges, however, as does Calderon.

Calderon says that while "the court charges against me are minor, if I am convicted, the president of the University of Northern Colorado, where I am now teaching, has threatened to get me fired."

Calderon notes that the clearing of Vigil by the university committee is proof of his own innocence.

Calderon, who is a naturalized U. S. citizen, also says that a conviction on the charges against him, or even the existence of these charges on his record, could be used as a pretext to deport him. The FBI has informed him that a complaint has been filed against his status as a naturalized citizen.

Calderon is asking all those who oppose this attempt to victimize him to endorse his defense. For further information write Northern Colorado Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, 919 A St., Greeley, Colo. 80631.

Frame-up conviction will be appealed

Carlos Feliciano sentenced to four years

By ANDY FINNEL

NEW YORK—Hundreds of demonstrators packed the courtroom here and picketed outside Oct. 12 as Carlos Feliciano was sentenced to four years in prison.

Feliciano, a longtime member of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, was convicted last month in the New York county court in Manhattan for possession of firearms (a starting pistol), possession of a bomb and an unnamed explosive substance, and possession of a blasting cap.

His lawyer, William Kunstler, has filed an appeal, and Feliciano is now out on bail.

Feliciano was found not guilty of basically the same charges in Bronx county court a year and a half ago. Pointing to this fact, attorney Kunstler sought to have the present verdict set aside, contending the case was an obvious frame-up brought by the state "with malice."

On July 2 this year, police sergeant Dunn, a key prosecution witness, testified that the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation (New York's

"Red Squad"), the FBI, and the Puerto Rican administration were out to get Feliciano for his political activities. Dunn testified they had conspired together and used illegal Watergate-style spying and harassment tactics against Feliciano.

The defense asked that all charges be dropped, since the police witnesses had presented conflicting testimony and no real evidence, and because the court had coerced the jury into returning a guilty verdict. Judge Arnold Fraiman denied all defense motions to have the verdict set aside.

One hundred and fifty of Feliciano's supporters filled the hearing room in the Criminal Court Building. Another 200, unable to get inside, jammed the entrance and hall.

Outside the building a block-long picket line of more than 250 people continued from 9 a.m. until 2:30, when sentence was pronounced and Feliciano left the court.

Pickets carried banners and signs, and chanted slogans in English and Spanish, including "Libertad Para

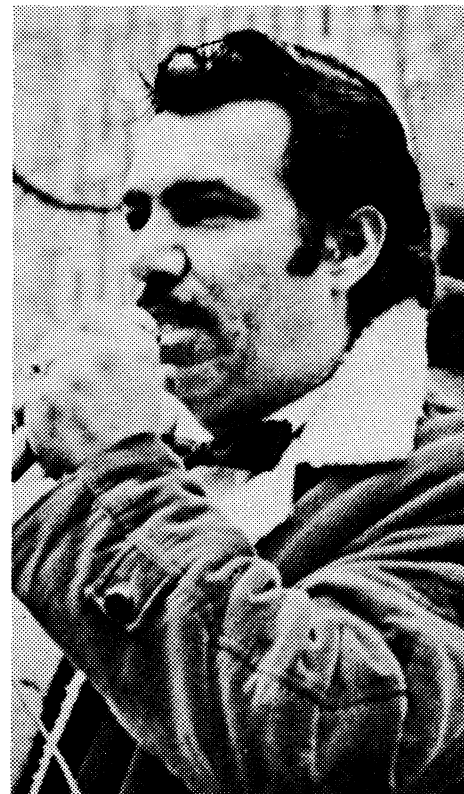
Carlos—Ahora" ("Free Carlos—Right Now"); "La Independencia—Ahora" ("Independence—Right Now"); and "Despierta, Boriqua, Defiende Lo Tuyo" ("Wake Up, Puerto Rican, Defend What is Yours").

Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president, joined the picket line.

Commenting on the four-year sentence, Father Garcia, spokesperson for the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, called it a partial victory. District Attorney John Patton had asked for 35 years. Garcia said a massive letter-writing campaign helped prevent a longer sentence.

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano urges all individuals and organizations supporting the independence fighter's right to freedom to protest this political frame-up by writing to Judge Arnold Fraiman, Criminal Court Building, 100 Center St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

The committee can be contacted at Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013.



FELICIANO: Victim of Watergate-style conspiracy.

Illinois welfare recipients protest aid cutbacks

By DIANE RUPP

CHICAGO—Illinois Governor Dan Walker's imposition of a "flat grant" welfare system, part of the national attack against people on welfare, has not gone unopposed.

On Oct. 1, the day the system went into effect, 225 people demonstrated outside the State of Illinois Public Aid Building here to show their opposition.

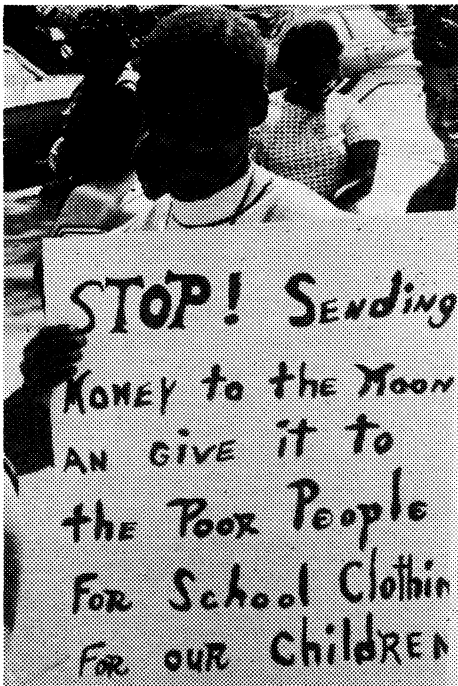
Most of the demonstrators were welfare recipients, demanding more money for the welfare program and the right of recipients to decide their own needs. They chanted, "Walker says cut back, we say fight back" and "Flat grant means flat broke; support welfare rights."

The Illinois Union of Social Service Employees (IUSSE), which organizes welfare workers, endorsed the protest, and many employees stayed away from work to join the picket lines. A number of local welfare offices were also picketed. The state alleges that in some cases the functioning of these offices was severely hampered.

Members of the Welfare Rights Or-

ganization have also filed suit against the flat grant system.

The state claims the flat grant system equalizes payments to welfare recipients by averaging into the regular monthly grant what were formerly



special allowances. Although some checks will be slightly larger, recipients will no longer be able to receive special allowances for furniture, clothing, special diets (such as for diabetes), moving expenses, back rents, rent security deposits, clinic carfare, and adult education.

Many regular monthly allotments are being lowered.

Welfare recipients oppose this scheme and request a 3 to 9 percent cost-of-living increase in the monthly allotment and retention of special allowances.

Walker, who won the gubernatorial race as a maverick liberal Democrat, has declared his intention to clamp down on "welfare cheaters." He had the help of two of California Governor Ronald Reagan's assistants, Robert Carlson and Ron Zimdrum, in developing the flat grant program. Many assume this is just Walker's first step in cutting back welfare, as right-winger Reagan has done in California.

Walker's attitude toward poverty-stricken welfare recipients was illustrated by a remark by him quoted

in the *Chicago Daily News*: "If a welfare family starved under the old system, it will continue to starve under the flat grant system."

Walker pushed the new system through the Illinois legislature with ease, but widespread opposition from the Black and Latino communities compelled him to call a public hearing on it.

The hearing was held in an exclusive Chicago hotel, far from where welfare recipients live. The state director of public aid listened quietly and said nothing as mothers spoke of children with leukemia, as well as forced evictions, and inability to buy decent food.

The "flat grant" system was then instituted, as already decided.

The Oct. 1 demonstration was initiated by the Illinois Welfare Rights Organization. Other endorsers and participants in the protest included the IUSSE, Kenwood Community Organization, several Hull House Community Centers, Operation PUSH, Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice, and the Socialist Workers Party.

U. of Wash. workers hit reclassification scheme

By CLARE FRAENZL

SEATTLE—Five hundred non-academic workers at the University of Washington gathered on the lawn in front of the Student Union earlier this month to protest a new classification system.

The reclassification, scheduled to start Jan. 1, 1974, will affect 14,000 employees in the higher education institutions in the state of Washington. One-half of these work at the University of Washington (UW).

According to the new plan, 2,600 employees, mostly women and minorities, will be reclassified into lower-paying positions. Those who are reclassified downward will, in effect, have their wages frozen. With current rates of inflation, this represents a substantial loss of real wages.

The Higher Education Personnel

Board (HEPB), appointed by the government to draw up the plan, is also proposing to revise pay scales for all classified workers. If the new scale is adopted, another 30 percent of the classified staff will be denied pay increases in January. The new pay rates will reduce starting pay for most classifications by \$80 to \$100 a month.

The UW rally, held Oct. 10, was called by the Staff Rights Organizing Committee (SROC), an ad hoc formation composed largely of unorganized clerical workers. SROC has compiled and publicized information on the effects the reclassification will have on UW staff members. This information, along with proposed new classifications for each employee, has been withheld by the university.

Possible courses of action, including

slowdowns, work stoppages, and a strike, were discussed at the rally. Other possibilities, such as seeking a court injunction to halt the reclassification of women and minority employees, are also being considered.

The campus newspaper, *The Daily*, ran an editorial urging students to support the classified staff and to attend the rally. An adjacent guest editorial by the Young Socialist Alliance also urged student support for the UW staff.

Busen were organized to transport UW employees to the HEPB meeting Oct. 12, where action on the reclassification plan was scheduled. Several hundred workers took a vacation day or sick leave in order to attend the meeting.

Physics Department faculty members volunteered to answer phones and run

the office that day. They also collected money to send women department employees to the meeting. Representatives from Seattle-King County National Organization for Women and the UW Office of Economic Opportunities for Women read statements of support for women employees at UW.

SROC presented petitions signed by UW faculty, staff, and students. A representative from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees pointed out the need for a unified statewide classification plan, but not the one proposed by the HEPB.

Despite the angry protest voiced at the meeting, the board voted to ratify the new classification system. Staff members vowed to continue fighting and to return to the next board meeting, which will be held Nov. 16.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

Revolutionary Suicide by Huey P. Newton. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. New York, 1973. 333 pp. Cloth \$8.95.

Anyone picking up a book called *Revolutionary Suicide* would probably think it was a fire-and-brimstone tract decrying oppression and exploitation and calling the masses to rise at dawn. Seeing the name Huey P. Newton as author, the prospective reader might reasonably expect this book to be a history of the Black Panther Party, telling where it's been, where it's at, and where it's going.

But the reader would be wrong on both counts. *Revolutionary Suicide* is

Books

not a history of the Panthers, but rather a well-written, fast-moving autobiography by Newton. In it he describes the racist and economic oppression that surrounded his family, first in Louisiana and then in Oakland, Calif., after 1945.

Newton was born Feb. 17, 1942, in Monroe, La., to Walter and Armelia Newton.

Because Walter Newton demanded that white folks respect his humanity, he got a reputation as a "crazy nigger," a trait that figured in shaping his son's personality.

After World War II the Newton family joined the mass exodus of Black people out of the South in search of opportunity and freedom. They found neither. The family simply fled from the naked injustice of the South to face more subtle forms of oppression in the West.

Newton recalls, "My father's constant preoccupation with bills is the most profound and persistent memory of my childhood. We were always in debt, always trying to catch up. From an early age 'the bills' meant I could not have any of the extra things I wanted. . . . It killed me a little each time they were mentioned, because I could see the never-ending struggle and agony my father went through trying to cope with them."

Although Newton's father was a minister, he worked two or three jobs at a time.



Newton poster in Black Panther headquarters window, blasted by police bullets in 1968 attack.

Intermingled with his account of how the forces of racism and capitalism shaped the lives of individual members of his family, Newton recounts his experiences in the public school system.

Like most Black youth, he could not swallow the class and race biases of education. Nonetheless, the system passed him from grade to grade, and in the last year of high school he found himself a "functional illiterate."

"When my friends and I graduated, we were ill-equipped to function in society, except at the bottom, even though the system said we were educated. Maybe they knew what they were doing, preparing us for the trash heap of society, where we would have to work long hours for low wages."

But through the example of his older brother, Melvin, who attended college, and the challenging assertion of a high school counselor that he wasn't "college material," Newton applied himself seriously to the task of learning how to read.

Eventually he enrolled at Oakland City College (now Merritt College) and a whole new episode opened in his life, through which he grew into Black and radical consciousness and became the founder and leader of the Black Panther Party—the most important organization to emerge out of the Black upsurge in the late 1960s.

Almost a third of the book deals with the 33 months of prison and jail and the three trials he underwent on the frame-up charges of killing one policeman and wounding another the night of Oct. 28, 1967. This section contains the best account anywhere of his first trial, in the summer of 1968, and the legal tactics of Newton's defense lawyer, Charles Garry.

In the course of his dramatic narrative, Newton shows the lies and falsifications used by the prosecution to build the frame-up case against him.

After two later trials in which prosecution witnesses began to forget their lines and lose credibility, the prosecutor finally dropped the charges.

Again, for those who are looking for a political history of the Black Panther Party, a balance sheet on an effort to build a Black party, it will not be found in this book. This is unfortunate.

In their early stages, under the impact of the ghetto rebellions, the Panthers projected organizing some kind of armed struggle in "twos and threes" to drive the police out of the Black community.

But while the rebellions had demonstrated the radically transformed consciousness of the community, Black people were not ready for armed struggle against the state. This fact, combined with the Panthers' ultra-left scheme of organizing small guerrilla bands, led to the isolation of the Black Panther Party from the community. The government used this isolation and Panther rhetoric about guns to launch a fierce repression against the organization.

After finding themselves at a dead end, the Panthers moved from an orientation toward guns to an orientation toward the capitalist Democratic Party—the very political force, along with the Republican Party, responsible for the oppression of Black people and the repression of the Panthers.

Newton played a big role in developing both orientations. If the previous perspective consisted of gener-



NEWTON: Addressing crowd after release from prison.

alizations drawn from surface impressions of ghetto rebellions, the present orientation comes out of attempts by the Democratic Party to maneuver and co-opt radicalizing youth, women, and Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. Witness McGovern and the relative proliferation of Black Democratic elected officials.

Newton and the Panthers have been taken in by these maneuvers. The Panthers recently ran Bobby Seale as a Democrat for mayor of Oakland. Newton demonstrated this illusion in a recent interview in *Playboy* magazine, where he said it is possible to turn the capitalist Democratic Party onto the road of socialism.

Neither the ultra-left nor the opportunist stages of the Panthers have contributed toward the building of a mass Black political party—independent of the capitalist parties—capable of organizing the struggle for Black control of the Black community. It is in this light that the Panther experience must be assessed.

—DERRICK MORRISON

THE ECSTASY OF RITA JOE

The Ecstasy of Rita Joe. As performed by the Washington Theater Club. Starring Frances Hyland and Chief Dan George.

The Ecstasy of Rita Joe and Other Plays by George Ryga. New Press. Toronto, Canada, 1971. 236 pp. Paper \$2.50.

This angry play by George Ryga explores the problems of Native Americans and their growing militancy against their national oppression. While the play deals specifically with the plight of Canadian Indians, the promotional material put out by the Washington Theater Club featured photographs of last spring's occupation of Wounded Knee, underlining the play's timeliness.

The play has now left the WTC,

and hopefully will be performed in other cities.

The Ecstasy of Rita Joe has an unusual structure. The sequence is broken by flashbacks, anecdotes, foreshadowings, digressions, and songs, which often jolt the audience. But the precision with which Ryga and the WTC use this ebb and flow technique strengthens the play's impact.

Theatre

Rita Joe has fled the reservation, but she refuses to be assimilated and broken by the white culture she encounters in the city. Unable to hold a job for long, she is forced into occasional theft and prostitution for survival.

After repeated harassment, entrapment, and arrest by the police, she lands once again in court. There she encounters the Magistrate, who succinctly sums up the outlook of the white ruling class: "We'll get larger prisons and more police in every town and city across the country! . . . There is room for disagreement and there is room for social change . . . but within the framework of institutions and traditions in existence for the purpose!"

Rita Joe and her equally proud and rebellious companion, Jaimie Paul, lash out at the "friends of the Indians" who only try to placate them and sidetrack their grievances. Rita Joe rebuffs the Priest, who left the Indians with the white man's Bible in exchange for their land. Jaimie destroys the store of Mr. Homer, a pretentious do-gooder who dishes out crumbs to "our

Indians."

Rita Joe and Jaimie's anger begins to point toward the government itself. At this point Jaimie clashes with Rita Joe's father, Chief David Joe (played by Chief Dan George, who received acclaim for his role as Old Lodgeskins in *Little Big Man*). Chief David Joe can't break with the traditions of the reservation, even though he realizes the dangers of trusting the white authorities. Rita Joe and Jaimie have no such qualms about taking action.

The tragic climax stuns the audience. Three white men, out "having fun," murder Jaimie and rape and kill Rita Joe. At the funeral ritual, Rita's sister expresses the feelings of an increasing number of young Native Americans: "No more!"

—ERNEST HARSCH

Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

Efforts of Southwest Bureau: another reason to contribute

By ANDREA MORELL

The Militant plays an important role in getting out the truth about political developments that the capitalist press does not report. When possible, we send reporters to the scene of struggles as soon as they break out, to bring readers firsthand news.

On-the-spot stories on the Lip watch factory takeover in France and the Presidential elections in Argentina helped our readers keep abreast of these important international developments. Here in the United States, our Southwest Bureau has provided

Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of The Militant's 45th Anniversary Fund.

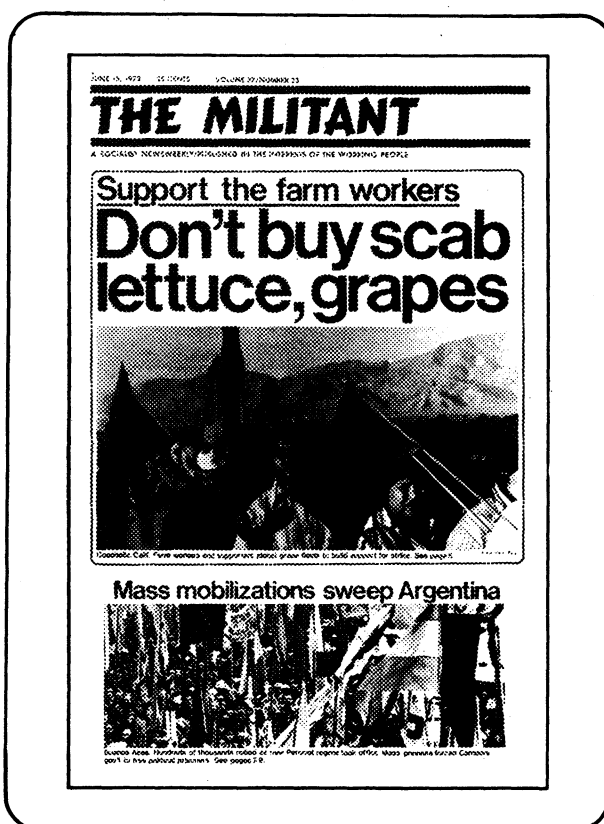
readers with much eyewitness reportage of the Chicano movement and other political developments.

The cost of such reporting is very high. Continuing and expanding the work of the Southwest Bureau and other firsthand coverage is part of our Forty-Fifth Anniversary Fund. We hope to raise \$20,000 by Dec. 15.

To get a closer look at the work and expenses of the Southwest Bureau, I spoke this past weekend with Harry Ring, who staffs the bureau in Los Angeles, along with Miguel Pendás. Ring spoke about the development of the bureau and some of its activities and plans.

"When we first thought of establishing a bureau two and a half years ago, there were several choices for its location. We decided on the Southwest, largely because the Chicano movement was proving to be one of the most important developments in the country," Ring said.

"Since 1971, when we set up the bureau, we've made three trips to Texas and numerous trips



One of front pages featured in special anniversary book 'The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism.' Readers contributing \$45 or more to anniversary fund will receive complimentary copy.

to Colorado to write stories on the Chicano movement. We have reported consistently on the activity of La Raza Unida parties all over the Southwest, as well as on the Denver-based Crusade for Justice.

"From May to September of this year, Miguel and I made weekly trips to Coachella Valley, Calif., and later to Delano to cover the United Farm Workers' strike. We averaged 300 miles a week on those trips, usually in our '66 Ford."

Ring pointed to the important role *The Militant's* coverage of the UFW strike played, both in getting strike news out and in mobilizing support for the boycott of grapes and lettuce: "Many people involved in the movement now look to *The Militant* for its reportage on strike developments. The information simply isn't available in most other papers, certainly not in the capitalist press."

In addition to news of the Chicano movement, our Southwest Bureau has provided on-the-spot coverage of other developments on the West Coast, including the Pentagon papers trial and the protests of Black sailors on the U.S.S. *Constellation*.

"Running the Southwest Bureau has been a very expensive proposition," Ring explained. "It involves a good deal of travel, and a lot of telephone calls. For example, we telephoned in all our stories on the UFW strike to be sure of including last-minute developments. This has been a very big expense."

To continue the work of the Southwest Bureau, we need your contributions. This week readers and supporters sent in \$471.70. This means we still have to raise \$3,427.60 by Dec. 15.

Everyone who donates or pledges \$45 or more will receive a complimentary copy of the book, *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*. This beautifully bound volume, published in a limited edition, contains reproductions of front pages from all 45 years of *The Militant*, eight of Laura Gray's memorable cartoons, and a brief history of the newspaper by former editor Joseph Hansen.

We are pleased to learn that the book was the subject of a half-page article in the Oct. 3 University of Houston student newspaper, *The Daily Cougar*. Under the headline "Paper upholds socialism," staff writer Linda Robinson provided readers with a historical sketch of *The Militant* based on our commemorative volume.

Her article captured the spirit of our revolutionary newspaper when she wrote, "*The Militant* has fought for the freedom of workers, black and women's liberation and their own freedom to function as a newspaper."

Help *The Militant* to continue the struggle. Send us your contribution—in any amount—today.

Very good response to Mideast stand

By NANCY COLE

Early reports on street sales of the Oct. 19 *Militant* (front-page headline: "Behind Israeli aggression") indicate a very good response.

Almost everywhere, supporters have sold out of *Militants* at Arab support activities, and sales at regular locations have picked up dramatically.

The urgency of the Mideast crisis and the response to *The Militant* underline the necessity of ordering extra large bundles.

Some of the most outstanding initial sales are reported on page 7. Other good sales spots include Brooklyn, where 116 were sold from tables in the Arab community and another 95 at Mideast-related meetings.

Sales director Steve Bloom reports an open attitude on the Mideast question in all of Brooklyn, including Brooklyn College, a traditional Zionist stronghold. Forty-two *Militants* were sold there in one day. One member of the Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance, Bennett Satinoff, has already sold 150 *Militants*.

In addition to meetings and rallies called in response to the war, some areas have put their imagination to work in finding places where people would be especially interested in *The Militant's* coverage. Two supporters in San Francisco sold 40 by going through small Arab-owned grocery stores. Twin Cities looked up the schedules of courses related to the Middle East at the University of Minnesota in order to sell during class breaks.

A number of people have offered to help in the sales effort. At a demonstration in San Francisco where 40 *Militants* were sold, an Arab demonstrator volunteered to sell. A high school student in New York City called the YSA to help sell because she knew *The Militant* would be the only paper to tell the truth.

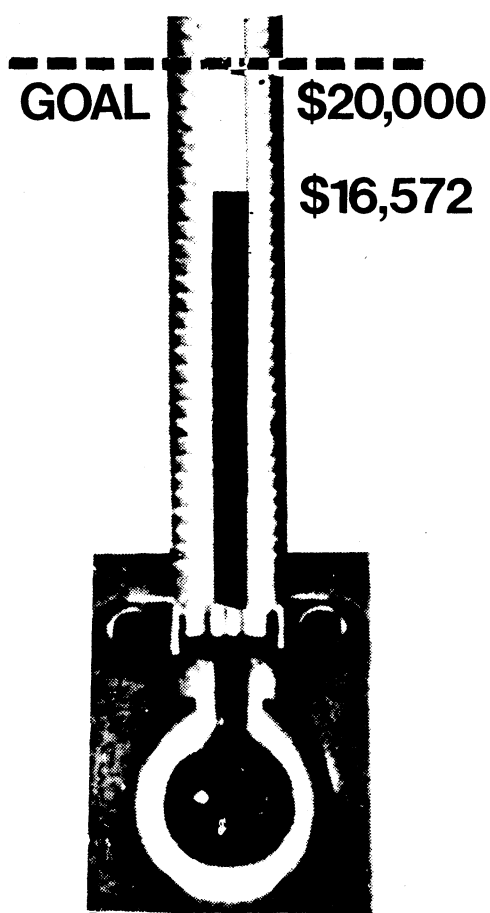
Sales of the Oct. 12 issue (see scoreboard) featuring the eyewitness account of the coup in Chile were somewhat lower than those for the past few weeks. But across the country *The Militant* found an appreciative response at meetings and rallies on Chile. At a Chile teach-in in Seattle, 80 were sold; at a demonstration in Chicago, 78; and both Upper West Side, N.Y., and San Francisco supporters sold 45 at Chile film showings.

Sales were hindered once again by the inefficiency of the U.S. postal system. Chicago received its bundle late and sold 327 in two days. And Austin received only one small bundle of 20, which they sold immediately.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% SOLD
Detroit	400	467	117
Atlanta	400	443	111
Seattle	400	433	108
Lower Manhattan	450	457	102
Amherst	40	40	100
E. Lansing	40	40	100
Lexington	25	25	100
Lincoln, Me.	10	10	100
Nashville	40	40	100
San Diego	350	350	100
Upper West Side	475	442	93
Bloomington	75	66	88
St. Louis	225	194	86
Oakland/Berkeley	900	769	85
Denver	375	313	83
Los Angeles	500	403	81
Columbus	50	40	80
Washington, D.C.	350	275	79
Cleveland	350	268	77
Louisville	40	30	75
Philadelphia	375	270	72
Madison	50	34	68
Boston	700	453	65
San Francisco	500	323	65
Houston	450	280	62
Brooklyn	450	273	61
Pittsburgh	300	175	58
Portland	300	162	54
Twin Cities	425	202	48
Chicago	700	327	47
Cincinnati	75	20	27
Austin	140	20	14
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	7,644		
GOAL	9,500		

Militant Fund Drive



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Make checks payable to The Militant 45th Anniversary Fund Campaign. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

...Agnew

Continued from page 3

some of his headlines by slapping the old face. In a 5-2 decision, the court upheld Judge John Sirica's earlier order to turn over to him the secret White House tapes sought by Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox. This decision is certain to be appealed to the Supreme Court. If Nixon loses there, he will be faced with the choice of turning over the politically sensitive tapes or openly flouting the court's decision, which would be certain to raise widespread demands for his impeachment. Now that a new precedent has been established with the resignation under pressure of a vice-president, it can be expected that there will be less public resistance to new precedents regarding the president—even if, as expected, Congressman Gerald Ford is confirmed as Agnew's successor.

"In other circumstances," Max Frankel wrote in the October 14 *New York Times*, "in other years, other Presidents may have found it possible to divert, suppress or ensnarl in legal complexities the charges of extortion, bribery and tax evasion that were developed against Vice President Agnew in Maryland."

"But Mr. Nixon, it now appears, worked hard to shove his understudy down the plank, to obliterate the ghastly symbolism of his transgressions. For the President himself still faces demands for an explanation of the way huge sums of money were handled in his behalf, of his private gain in business dealings with cronies, and of his income tax returns. The President himself may yet face the Agnew agony over how long the nation's business can be beclouded by legal maneuvers to vindicate one man."

...Chile

Continued from page 14

and not just the leaders were making the decisions. I think things could have developed differently if such participation could have been achieved.

Q. What is the situation of the cordones now?

A. I would say they don't exist anymore. Not as organizations. So the people don't know what to do. The

only place people are coming together is in the separate party organizations. For example, in the shantytown we are familiar with, the members of the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] are still trying to carry on resistance against the military. Even in this situation where the military control everything, they are trying to do something because they are desperate. They are not defeated. They want to do something, but they don't know what to do.

There are still a lot of guns around. Most of those in the hands of the people were given out by the Socialist party. The Communist party had a lot of guns but they were all in the hands of the bureaucrats. They did not distribute them among the rank and file. The ranks did not have any military instruction. No defense committees were formed. They don't know how to use guns. But they do have guns; they have more guns than people.

There was a rumor going around when I left Chile that the people were going to fight this week. They were going to call a general strike and then start fighting. So there is some vanguard left. But I don't think this will happen because the people are afraid of the military. They are afraid they will be fired or executed.

Q. What is your opinion about the political conditions before the coup and what were the alternatives?

A. I would say the crunch had to come. It was something nobody could avoid. The class struggle had reached such a pitch that I would say that from their point of view the military had no choice but to act as they did. The people and the workers also realized that a decisive confrontation was inevitable. In the last few mass meetings, such as the one on September 4, they asked Allende to arm them because they saw a coup coming.

But the reformist parties refused to see this. They blinded themselves to it. They called everybody ultraleft who warned that a crunch was coming.

The only way the coup could have been prevented was if the proletariat had developed its own power. If it had moved toward this, it would at least have been able to fight the military on something like more equal terms. They could have taken the ini-

tiative from the military and not let them pick the time and place for the fight. At the end, there was no middle ground. Even the military commanders who were against a coup had to withdraw. The class struggle was too sharp. There was no room for negotiating. It was the bourgeoisie or the workers. The one who struck first would be the victor.

...Gallo

Continued from page 24

that they shared common problems.

When the strike came, 120 of the 150 regular workers walked out. The Mexican workers responded nearly 100 percent, and more than 75 percent of the Portuguese workers joined the strike as well.

The union's headquarters is in Livingston, a tiny town near Modesto. Aggie Rose is the field director for the Gallo workers' UFW local.

Aggie grew up in the area and is of Portuguese descent. She is fluent in both Portuguese and Spanish and, on the basis of her own experience in the fields, has a real understanding of the workers' problems.

Her father owned a small ranch in nearby Turlock, but it wasn't enough to sustain the family. When Aggie was 11 she joined the family in working the harvest in the big nearby ranches.

She completed high school and enrolled at California State University at Chico. She worked her way through by waitressing at truck stops and A&W root-beer stands.

"They weren't such good jobs," she recalled, "but I was making 85 cents an hour. It was better than breaking your back in the field for two, three dollars a day."

After graduating, Aggie taught for awhile at San Francisco State College. This was during the 1967 UFW strike at Delano, and she began taking students down to join the picketing. She decided to return to the fields. After a stint with the Salinas lettuce workers, she volunteered for the Gallo assignment because her Portuguese background would be of value.

What did she feel the union had been able to do for the Gallo workers during the contract?

"One thing," she said, "is that there's much less discrimination in hiring. With the union hiring hall, old people get to work, women work. If you're on the seniority list and you're a

woman you get to keep working—whether there's some real strong 25-year-old man waiting to take that job or not. Everybody gets to work with this union.

"Before, Gallo tried to get the strongest people—the youngest people—whoever he could get that would do the most work and not talk back.

Aggie continued, "Gallo's ability to treat the workers a certain way changed incredibly with the union. When he first got started, Gallo supervised workers on horseback. His supervisors rode around on horses, watching the workers. They certainly can't do that any more!"

Before the union, Aggie said, the supervisor would say, "The last one to finish this row gets fired." Or, "Everybody from here on back—to-morrow you don't show up because you're too far behind."

"Well, that definitely doesn't happen any more. Or it didn't while we had the contract."

"During the year I was here while we had the contract," she added, "there wasn't a single worker fired."

Aggie then turned to a point that is invariably discussed by farm unionists.

She said, "There's the way the supervisors talk to the workers. Like one of them called Manuel Perez a 'son of a bitch.' And, through the grievance procedure, Manuel Perez made him apologize."

"You know, Manuel Perez didn't get any more money for making this guy apologize," she said. "But the fact that you have some kind of dignity means you're going to have a real different way of looking at yourself and how you teach your kids to look at you and themselves."

"A kid can say, 'My father doesn't let any supervisor call him a son of a bitch. In the past, my father had to put his tail between his legs and let it happen, because if he didn't he'd get fired.'"

Dignity, human rights, decent living and working conditions, representation by the union of their choice—these are what the Gallo workers are fighting for.

Now available

January-June 1973 Militant bound volume and index, \$10.50.

Index only, \$1.

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

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WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 145 N. Butler, Madison, Wis. 53703. (608) 251-5716.

Calendar

ATLANTA

WHERE IS THE NEW LEFT TODAY? Speakers: to be announced. Fri., Oct. 26, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

CELEBRATE THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN '73-74. BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; John E. Powers Jr., SWP candidate for Boston city council. Sat., Oct. 27. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.) 6 p.m. refreshments; 7 p.m. smorgasbord dinner; 8:30 rally. Donation: banquet and rally, \$2.50; rally only \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

GOVERNMENT BY DECEIT: THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speaker: Mike Arnall, national field sec'y of Political Rights Defense Fund. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth floor (across from Roosevelt Univ.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CLEVELAND

BLACK NATIONALIST GOALS IN POLITICAL STRUGGLE. Speaker: Brother Diablo, independent candidate for Cleveland city council in Ward 27. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON THE ARGENTINE ELECTION. Speaker: Mirta Vidal, Militant staff writer recently returned from Argentina. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

ANGOLA—THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM. Speaker: Charles Simmons, recently returned from Angola, with a slide presentation. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE1-6135.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN WEEKEND, OCT. 26-27. First session Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. Univ. of Houston, UC Annex, Pacific Room. The crisis in the US economy: Is socialism the answer? Speakers: Lynn Henderson, Marxist economist; Lou Stern, professor of economics, U. of H. Sat., Oct. 27, 11 a.m. and 2:30 p.m.: The impact of feminism on the Chicano movement, Linda Cavazos, MAYO; Gloria Guardiola, Chicana Caucus, NWPC; Kris Vasquez, SWP. Chile: What happened? Brenda Brdar, YSA; Mario Cantu, director, Ruben Salazar Center; Jorge Bustamante, professor of sociology, U. of T.

1973 CAMPAIGN AND MILITANT 45th ANNIVERSARY BANQUET. Sat., Oct. 27, 6 p.m. 3311 Montrose, featuring Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, The Militant; Dan Fein, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston; Kris Vasquez, SWP candidate for Houston school board. Tickets: \$5. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

NIXON VS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS—HOW TO FIGHT THE WATERGATE CRIMES. Speakers: Syd Stapleton, national secretary of Political Rights Defense Fund; Dan Styron, national committee member of SWP. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

GALA BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. Sat., Dec. 1. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Gourmet meal, entertainment. Admission: \$6, students \$4. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

UNIONS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY—HOW TO ORGANIZE AND HOW TO WIN. Speakers: Barbara Buoncristiano, organizer for District 65 unionization campaign; Sue Costello, District 65 union organizer at Barnard; Ruth Cheney, ad hoc committee for organizing District 65 at Columbia U. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

SEATTLE

SEXIST ADVERTISING: TALK AND SLIDE SHOW. Speaker: Diane Willett, National Organization for Women. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 5257 Univ. Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Mirta Vidal, Militant staff writer recently returned from Latin America; Craig Honts, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle. Sat., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. University Tower Hotel, 4507 Brooklyn N.E. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

TWIN CITIES

TEAMSTER POWER—THEN AND NOW. Speakers: Harry DeBoer, 1934 strike leader; Martin Anderson, Socialist Workers Party city council candidate and Teamster. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE MIDEAST CRISIS. Panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

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Gallo strikers fight for human rights

By HARRY RING

MODESTO, Calif. — The United Farm Workers Union's battle for survival has brought the union up against one of the giants of the American wine industry — Gallo wines.

Workers in the Gallo vineyards here have been out on strike since last April, trying to retain their right to be represented by the UFW.

Gallo had signed a contract with the UFW in 1967, under threat of a boycott, and renewed it in 1970. But this spring the contract expired while the UFW was locked in a struggle against the combined forces of the California table-grape growers and the Teamster officialdom.

Gallo strung out renewal negotiations for several months, then broke off the talks and signed a sweetheart agreement with the Teamsters. The Gallo field workers struck.

Success story

In many respects the Gallo wine company is a true American success story.

In the early 1930s, when prohibition ended, Ernest and Julio Gallo entered the wine business. They had

Teamsters backing out of peace agreement with United Farm Workers. See page 18.

grown up around their father's vineyard near Modesto in California's San Joaquin Valley. Armed with a couple of pamphlets from the local library, they studied the wine-making process and instead of selling grapes began selling their own wine.

The effort was eminently successful. Last year Gallo sold 109 million gallons of wine—37.5 percent of total U.S. production.

Still a family operation, Gallo's financial records are strictly confidential. But observers estimate last year's net profit at \$45-million.



Militant/Harry Ring

Why are these Gallo strikers cheering? Moments before picture was taken, the Livingston, Calif., store they were picketing agreed to stop selling Gallo wines.

Gallo TV commercials emphasize the family character of the operation. They show Ernest and Julio out in the vineyard checking the grapes, then making sure they're aged properly and so on.

A visit to Gallo Winery here gives a somewhat different impression. On first sight it looks like an oil refinery.

Dominating the scene is an array of 100 giant metal tanks with a storage capacity of 165 million gallons. The tanks surround a big modern-looking

factory where grapes are processed into wine.

Other California wineries welcome visitors. They offer guided tours and samples of their products. But Gallo, a no-nonsense operation, is patrolled by security cops and nobody gets in without an appointment.

Grit, pluck, and vision are axiomatic in the American success story, and the Gallo brothers undoubtedly possess these qualities. They also possess the other indispensable ingredients for success—the will and capacity to stomp their competitors and sweat their workers.

Labor camps

Gallo employs only a few hundred field workers because the amount of grapes it uses now far exceeds the total production of its own vineyards. It is estimated that Gallo uses almost 30 percent of the California wine grape crop.

On a year-round basis, Gallo hires about 150 field workers. During the harvest this increases to about 500.

Most of Gallo's steady workers live in several labor camps operated by the company. One compound contains individual houses where the conditions range from passable to poor. The others consist of connected row houses. There the conditions are scandalous.

Families of as many as five or six live in the one-room "apartments." There is no air conditioning for the fierce summer heat or heating for the winter cold. They are infested with roaches and field mice.

The water supply is so polluted that county health officials have suggested the families boil their drinking water.

Because they don't charge rent in these slum camps, the Gallo brothers—who live in a beautiful nearby estate—tried to have the striking workers evicted.

UFW attorneys blocked this move and countered with a \$3.5-million suit for damages to those inflicted with the "privilege" of living in these camps.

Most of Gallo's workers are originally from Mexico. Several years back, the company began bringing in Portuguese workers from the Azores and tried to pit them against the Mexican workers.

The Portuguese workers were generally given the better individual homes and somewhat better treatment in the fields. The only Mexicans who got to live in the individual housing were those few who were antiunion.

But this didn't accomplish its purpose. There is sufficient similarity between Portuguese and Spanish that the two groups of workers were able to communicate. They quickly learned

Continued on page 22

Don't buy Gallo wines!

OCT. 15—The AFL-CIO national council has not yet acted on the UFW application for official sanction for a boycott of Gallo wines. This is required because the inside workers at Gallo are in an AFL-CIO union.

Meanwhile, the National Student Association, student governments, and other campus groups are promoting a boycott of Gallo products.

Gallo strikers have begun to spread out to various cities to publicize their strike. They will seek the cooperation of the student boycotters, join in picket lines at stores

selling Gallo wines, speak before interested groups, and present a slide show about their strike.

When asking people not to buy Gallo wine, remind them that this includes Paisano, Red Mountain, and Thunderbird. Gallo pop wines include Boone's Farm, Spánada, Tyrolia, and Ripple.

In addition, remember that the Gallo label does not appear on all of its products. But any wine that says "Modesto, Calif." on the label is Gallo's since it is the only wine company with headquarters in Modesto.